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UNDER THE SANCTION OF

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ADDRESS TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE ON THE DISUSE OF SLAVE-LABOUR PRODUCE.

The system of slavery, whether viewed in its origin, its incidents, or its results, is now generally admitted to be not only an enormous crime against man, but an act of daring impiety against God; and that, therefore, every legitimate means should be used to secure its universal abolition.

The slavery of modern times, we speak of that which exists among professedly Christian and civilised nations, had its origin in THE SLAVE-TRADE, and is, in one form or other, fed and sustained by it at the present hour. The Spanish Colonies and Brazil derive their supplies of new slaves direct from the Coast of Africa, whilst the southern sections of the United States depend for their's, in a considerable degree, on the slave-rearing States, where the victims of oppression are as regularly bred for sale as cattle are for the markets. In the one case, we have the foreign African slave-trade, with all the horrors of the capture and the middle passage; in the other, the internal or domestic slave-trade, with all its loathsome and atrocious incidents; and in both, an epitome of all the crimes that can darken or debase the character of man.

It is a melancholy and startling fact, that, with very few exceptions, all the slaves, upwards of seven millions in number, now held in bondage in the New World, are either the immediate victims, or the descendants of former victims of the slave-trade. They are the sad remnants of that mighty host which have been stolen from Africa, and doomed by the wickedness of their fellow-men, to hopeless captivity, unrequited toil, and premature death.

It is unnecessary that we should dwell on the essential unrighteousness and hateful cruelty of slavery; or depict its fearful results either on the slave or his oppressor: it is sufficient to say, that it is full of "deadly evil to both." It is, therefore, against slavery, rather than the slave-trade, which has now become its adjunct, that our most strenuous efforts should be directed, for so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings.

Whilst slavery existed in the British Colonies, or the territorial dependencies of the empire, we had the power of overcoming it through the constituted authorities of the realm. Our efforts to enlighten the public mind, and to move the legislature, were, under the divine blessing, crowned with success, and that dreadful evil has disappeared. But we could not use the same means with foreign states, and were limited to moral suasion, the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour, and the disuse of slave-produce. It has pleased the Imperial Legislature to enact laws which admit the free importation of slave-grown produce into the British market for home consumption, and very shortly the duties will be equalized, so that the last restriction upon it will cease to exist, and the produce of piracy, rapine, and murder will be elevated to the same dignity with that of free labour, honestly obtained and fairly remunerated. We deeply regret this; but we fear that Government will not retrace its steps; there remains, therefore, only two modes of action left, that of moral suasion, and the disuse of slave-produce.

It is extremely satisfactory to know, that the means to which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have resorted to promote the abolition of slavery by foreign States, have been followed by a large measure of success. Already Sweden and Denmark have decided the question of freedom, and the slaves in their colonies are now in course of being emancipated. France is prepared, we trust, shortly to follow the example, and Holland cannot

hesitate much longer to give liberty to her slaves. Nor is this all: Tunis has listened to the voice of humanity and justice, and her noble prince has destroyed the last vestiges of slavery and the slave-trade, throughout her coasts. Turkey has abolished her slave-markets. Rajpootana has terminated her slave-system, and Lahore has declared her bondmen shall be free. To this we may add, that many noble minds and generous hearts in Spain, Portugal, Brazil, and the Spanish Colonies, sympathise with us in our struggles for the freedom of the whole human race. We shall, therefore, persevere in the use of those moral and pacific means which have hitherto been so remarkably blest. One means, however, has been, we fear, much overlooked. We allude to the disuse of slave-labour produce; a weapon which all, more or less, can use with great effect. To this we invite serious attention.

The rule of the Society, adopted in 1839, is, "to recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown." The qualification, "as far as practicable" is added, because of the necessity of the case, for it is, perhaps, impossible, under existing circumstances, wholly to avoid all contact with the produce of slave-labour; yet we hold it to be a duty wherever there is liberty of choice, or a substitute for slave-produce can be found, to avoid it; and we earnestly recommend this view of the subject, and a corresponding practice, to the immediate and serious consideration, and adoption of every friend of humanity throughout the country.

If the demand for slaves is now the sole cause of the slave-trade, and its accumulated crimes, the demand for slave produce is the prolific source, the main prop and stay of slavery, with all its terrible and revolting circumstances and awful responsibilities. It requires no powers of reasoning to demonstrate that if this demand were to cease; if the righteous indignation felt against slavery led to the general disuse of its produce; and if compassion for the slave produced its legitimate fruit in a resolute determination thus practically to discountenance the sin we profess to condemn and execrate, it would soon be abandoned. It is the market for slave produce which gives energy and extension to the system of slavery. Unhappily, in our own country, that demand has greatly increased, since the last alteration in the sugar duties, and the result has been, that a vast stimulus has been given to the slave-trade; that slave property has greatly augmented in value; and that the progress of emancipation has been greatly impeded thereby. Such being the fact, the question is simple and the answer obvious, with regard to our duty—we must abstain from the use of slave-produce.

It may be said that isolated efforts of the kind recommended can do little towards the removal of the giant evil of slavery. We admit it, but the question of individual duty remains the same. Every one who uses slave-grown produce when it is in his power either to do without it or to choose that which is free, does in reality sustain the system of slavery; whereas, on the other hand, every one who abstains from it not only bears his protest against the iniquity of enslaving man, but attacks it in its most vulnerable point.

But however weak the effort may be in the first instance, yet, if it be based on a right principle, others will engage in it: the units will become hundreds, and the hundreds thousands, and their abstinence will not fail to make a decided impression on the market for slave-produce. If the abolitionists of this country—and who is not an abolitionist?—would ally themselves to this branch of anti-slavery effort, the consequences would be not less surprising than beneficial, for we may be assured that no slave-holder would add to his stock of slaves under a decaying demand for his productions. Hence, among the first consequences of abstinence from their use would be, that a smaller number of ships would be freighted for the slave-trade

—that fewer wars would be waged in Africa to obtain slaves—that a less number of victims would be destroyed; and, as the public conscience became awakened, the demand would gradually decrease, until slavery would become unprofitable—a burthen and a yoke too heavy to be borne.

To those who sincerely desire to act in conformity with the rule of this Society, there can be no difficulty in their doing so. A large proportion of the sugars, coffees, rice, cocoa, and other tropical productions, brought to the British market, is the result of free labor. To distinguish them from the produce of the Spanish colonies, Brazil, and the United States, is not difficult. Any respectable tradesman would be able to supply the above-mentioned articles, without being tempted to deceive. In the article of cotton goods, the case is somewhat different, though it is hoped that the exertions which are now being made will issue in an abundant supply of the raw material, free from the taint of slavery, so that the choice in this respect will be as easy as it now is in reference to sugar, coffee, and rice. But were the difficulties of obtaining free labour goods greater than they really are, the idea that by the non-use of those of an opposite character, you were subserving the great interests of humanity, would more than compensate for any amount of self-denial which the sacrifice might involve.

"Be not ye partakers of other men's sins," is an injunction of the Sacred Scriptures, which we think peculiarly appropriate to the subject we have ventured to submit to your consideration. The slave-holder first robs his fellow-man of his liberty, and then plunders him of the reward of his toil. That is his sin; but do we not participate it when we purchase of him the fruits of that toil? We think that every rightly constituted mind must answer, yes! An eminent American writer, the late Dr. Channing, speaking of the Cuban slave-trade and slavery, observes, "We do much to sustain this system of horror and blood. The Cuban slave-trade is carried on in vessels built especially for this use in American ports. These vessels often sail under the American flag, and are aided by American merchantmen, and, as is feared, by American capital. And this is not all; the sugar, in producing which so many of our fellow-creatures perish miserably, is shipped in great quantities to this country. We are the consumers who stimulate by our demands, this infernal cruelty. And, knowing this shall we become accessories to the murder of our brethren, by continuing to use the fruit of the hard-earned toil which destroys them? The sugar of Cuba comes to us drenched with human blood. So we ought to see to it, and turn from it with loathing. The guilt which produces it ought to be put down by the spontaneous, instinctive horror of the civilized world."

These remarks are as applicable to Great Britain, as to the United States. Let us turn from slave-produce "with loathing," and the millions who now suffer as slaves will bless us.

THE FRENCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

It is with the greatest satisfaction that we call attention to the following correspondence, especially to the letter of our honoured friends, the members of the French Anti-Slavery Society. It will be seen that they have now resolved to pursue the course formerly adopted by the British Anti-Slavery Societies; and to be satisfied with nothing short of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. In accordance with this determination, the Committee have been actively engaged in conveying information to the public mind, with a view to obtain a large number of signatures to the petitions which are now in course of circulation throughout various parts of France. Others, not in immediate connexion with the Society, are exerting themselves in the same generous and noble work; and we have little doubt, that if they be successful in their exertions, the question of the abolition of slavery in the French Colonies will be definitively settled during the next session of the French Chambers.

TO THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, AND MEMBERS OF THE
FRENCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEAR SIRS.—It would have afforded the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society the greatest satisfaction, if they could have congratulated you on the success of the measures adopted by the French Legislature in 1845, for improving the condition of the Slave population in your colonies, with a view to their ultimate emancipation; but unhappily they cannot. The French government, after having tardily, and, as it appears to them, inadequately provided by royal ordinances, for carrying the enactments of the law into effect, does not, evidently, attach that weight to the Anti-Slavery sentiment and feeling of France which

would lead them to act with that promptitude and energy which the freedom and welfare of the Slaves so imperiously demands. The consequence is, that instead of acquiescence on the part of the Colonial Legislatures and Authorities, there is resistance; and among the colonists in general, a settled determination to avert the application of ameliorative laws, or, in any other way, to benefit the slaves subjected to their control. Nothing in effect has yet been done to secure the slightest amount of education, either to the adult or to the youthful slaves; nothing to secure to them the rights of marriage; nothing to prevent the rupture of family ties; nothing to limit the hours, or the amount of labour exacted from slaves; nothing to repress excessive and unnatural punishments; nothing to render self-redemption peremptory and easy of accomplishment; nothing, in short, has been done to destroy the worst features of slavery, to elevate the character, or improve the condition of the slaves, or to make them feel that, in the government they had a protector, who would compel obedience to the laws intended for their benefit.

When the Committee say that nothing has been done for the benefit of the slaves, they refer, of course, to practical results, and not to measures, for they are aware that measures have been multiplied during the last ten or twelve years without producing any great effect. Laws exist, but they contain no executive principle. They are a dead letter; for the parties entrusted with their administration are, for the most part, deeply interested in defeating their object. You have the law of amelioration in the colonies, but you want independent and conscientious body of functionaries to give it vitality, and to secure its triumph.

You are aware, gentlemen, that Colonial society is corrupted to its heart's core; that the clergy who ought to be guardians of morals, and the friends of humanity, are either involved in the general demoralization, or are incapable of controlling it; and that even the magistracy of every grade, whose office it is to maintain justice, are amongst its greatest violators; and that, should there be honourable exceptions to this general censure, and there have been such, what has been their fate? Have they not been shunned and hated, their prospects for life in many instances blighted, and themselves finally driven forth from the colonies, as too dangerous, or too criminal, to be allowed to remain therein? You, gentlemen, are doubtless conversant with many cases of this kind, and must, therefore, be convinced of the hopelessness of expecting that the humane intentions of France can ever be realized in reference to the slaves, whilst the deadly evil of slavery itself is permitted to exist.

In the British Colonies, the people of England had to encounter the same spirit of resistance, the same combination to prevent the introduction of reforms, the same corruption of manners and practices, until it became apparent, after many years of forbearance, that the axe must be laid at the root of the tree, and not applied to the lopping off of its branches, if ever the evils complained of were destroyed. Permit the Committee then to press on you, as the conviction to which they were brought, that, if you wish to elevate the slave population of your colonies, if you desire to bring them under the protection of just and equal laws, if you wish to rescue them from the miseries which surround and destroy them, you must first make them free! They therefore beg, Gentlemen, most respectfully (yet urgently to press upon you the duty of becoming the advocates of immediate, in opposition to gradual, of complete, in opposition to partial, emancipation. If, Gentlemen, you can but be prevailed upon unanimously and cordially to make this doctrine the sole basis of your future operations, the Committee are persuaded that you can awaken so profound a feeling of detestation against slavery in the breasts of your countrymen, as will compel the abolition of Slavery without delay, and without compromise. May not your British friends in this honourable work of general philanthropy, hope that you will now feel it to be your duty to take this ground, and henceforth to labour for the utter and immediate extinction of this crime? The Committee firmly believe, that a sound policy, not less than an enlightened humanity, requires this at your hands.

Accept, Gentlemen, the cordial wishes of the Committee, that your exertions to secure liberty to the slaves in your colonies, and thereby to advance the honour of your country, may be speedily crowned with complete success; for they are persuaded that when France shall have taken the final step in this great question, it will greatly accelerate the cause of universal emancipation.

I am, &c. &c.,

27, New Broad Street,
London, Jan. 23, 1847.

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE.

REPLY.

Paris, September 16, 1847.

MR. PRESIDENT,—We could have wished to have replied long ere now, to the letter with which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society favoured us, on the 23rd of January last; but having been unfortunately mislaid, it did not reach us till a day or two ago; and this is the first opportunity which has presented itself for answering it. This circumstance gives us much pain, for we attach very great importance to the communications which your Committee make to us on the great question of emancipation; a question which leaves far behind all those political questions which engage, in so great a degree, the attention of civilized nations.

Allow us, Mr. President, to congratulate ourselves on the progress which our cause has made in France since the date of your letter. If we had answered it some months before, we should only have been able to deplore with you that state of things which your Secretary pictures so truthfully in his letter; we should have been compelled to state with grief that public opinion was at a stand-still on the question; and that those measures, which were only adopted as preparatory to the entire abolition of slavery, were considered as definitive by the great majority of our countrymen. But the late discussions in the Chambers have filled us with unbounded hope. Our Colonists have at last begun to understand that France wishes immediate emancipation; and the language of the ministry, on several recent occasions, seems to indicate that if this wish of the country continues to be expressed with firmness, the government will comply with it.

We quite agree with your Committee in thinking that the lot of the slaves cannot be materially ameliorated by any of the measures which may have been adopted for the purpose of effecting that object. The experiment has frequently been tried, and the results have ever been the same. In the bosom of every society, weighed down by slavery, there will ever be found obstacles, before which all attempts at amelioration or partial reform must necessarily fail. THERE IS NO REMEDY FOR SLAVERY, BUT ITS ABOLITION.

For this reason, all our efforts are now directed to the obtaining complete emancipation. Nevertheless, we see with satisfaction the adoption of projects of law favourable to the slaves, because they are concessions to our opinions; but we are firmly resolved not to be contented with them. After too long hesitation, perhaps, our Society has become convinced, that in simplifying its task, and confining itself to demanding the immediate and complete emancipation of the Negroes, that task will advance more rapidly to its completion than if we had troubled ourselves concerning the means to be employed in its execution. Our duty, as an abolitionist society, is essentially to urge for a prompt action. The rest belongs to the legislative body. With this object in view, the petitions presented to the Chambers last sessions were drawn up, as well as those now under course of signature. In conformity with this view also, the matured conviction of the society has been made known, a conviction in accordance with the conclusions embraced in the letters you have from time to time addressed us. It gives us great pleasure to find, Mr. President, that on this fundamental point we now agree entirely with your society. The success which has crowned its efforts plainly shows how just are its views as to the course which ought to be followed, for the purpose of obtaining the abolition of slavery, and how surely that course leads to the desired end.

Permit us here to express, Mr. President, our entire sympathy, with your generous and persevering efforts.

In the name of the Society,

(In the absence of the President,)

(Countersigned,)

(Signed) H. PASSY,

DUTRÔNE,

Peer of France and Vice-President.

Secretary.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DANISH WEST INDIA COLONIES.

The following letter will explain to our friends the course adopted by the Danish Government in relation to the abolition of slavery in the Danish Colonies. We trust that the planters will see it to be their interest, to anticipate the period of emancipation, by simultaneously declaring their slaves to be free, and by placing them at once in the position of free-labourers on their estates. We are persuaded that a sound policy, not less than Christian duty requires this, at their hands. In the meantime we trust our valued

friends in Denmark, will lose no opportunity of impressing this doctrine on the colonists, and, if need be, on the Government. The 28th of July, we are informed, was selected as the period, from which the emancipation of children should commence, on account of its being the birth-day of the Queen of Denmark, whose earnest solicitude to promote the freedom and happiness of the poor slaves, well deserved the compliment.

Copenhagen, Sept. 20, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR.—I have the honour, in the name of the Committee formed here for the purpose of promoting the Abolition of Slavery, to transmit to you certain official documents which express the intentions of the king of Denmark on this subject, which were published by order of the Government on the 4th of September last. But before transcribing them, we deem it our duty to present to your estimable colleague, Mr. Alexander, our sincere and grateful thanks, for having given, during his visit to Copenhagen, such an impulse to our efforts. We shall ever consider him to be the prime mover in this great and good cause.

The first Royal Decree is dated July 28, 1847, and is addressed to Mr. Scholten, Governor of the Danish Antilles. It is as follows:—

"We, Christian VIII., by the grace of God, King of Denmark, &c., moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, and taking into consideration the welfare of our West Indian Colonies as well as the interests of the planters in those colonies, ordain that the arbitrary power, possessed by the masters over their slaves, shall entirely cease; but in order to protect the interests of all, and that the necessary measures may be taken for preparing for this change in the state of the slaves, the said change will not be effected for the space of twelve years, reckoning from the date of this proclamation.

"Nevertheless, it is our will that the children, who may be born to the slaves after the date of this decree, shall be free from their birth; but they shall remain with their mothers or with their parents on certain conditions to be hereafter fixed."

The second decree bears the same date and is addressed to the same person. It adds:—

"In consequence of the rescript which you have this day received from us, in reference to the cessation of the planters over their slaves after a certain interval; we charge you immediately on your arrival in our West Indian possessions to name a commission, partly of members of the Colonial Government, partly of other functionaries, and partly of other capable men, for the purpose of drawing up, under your presidency, a detailed proposition for the convenient execution of the orders contained in our former rescript, and especially for deciding upon the administrative and legislative measures, which must be taken for the purpose of preparing for the passage of the slaves to their new condition, and of assuring, at the end of the twelve years, the subsistence of the negroes, the cultivation of the plantations by free-labour, and the benefit of the colonies and the population in general."

Such is, my dear Sir, the point at which we have now arrived. We shall not fail to let you know of our subsequent progress, as soon as possible. May God bless your efforts. We shall ever remain, in our humble sphere, your most grateful and devoted fellow-labourer.

In the name of the Committee,

Your humble Servant,

Mr. JOHN SCOBLE,

RAFFARD, Pastor.

Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN LAHORE.

It affords us great satisfaction to be able to lay before our readers the proclamations by which slave-dealing is for ever abolished in Lahore. The motives which induced this act are worthy the consideration of those who profess to be actuated by the sublimest precepts, and the most ennobling morality, and yet delay to their duty.

PROCLAMATION MADE BY THE LAHORE DURBAR THROUGHOUT THE DOMINIONS OF MAHARAJAH DULLEP SINGH, DATED 21ST JULY, 1847.

"The practice of female infanticide and Suttee being most iniquitous, as taking away innocent life, and most learned and virtuous pundits and scholars of the Shasters having declared, after full inquiry, that it is positively forbidden by every sacred code, the Creator of the Universe having no delight in the contemplation of such erroneous cruelty as spilling the blood of his creatures, it is hereby resolved, with the concurrence and approval of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C.B., Agent-Governor-General, North-west Frontier, and President at Lahore, that the practices aforesaid, together with that of slave-dealing, be abolished henceforth and for ever within the dominions of the Lahore government.

"Accordingly it is hereby proclaimed, that no sirdar, or police officer, or landholder, or cultivator, or any other subject of Lahore, is to permit the commission of these crimes,—either the murder of female infants, or

the burning a widow on the pile of her husband, or the sale of men, women, or children.

"And if, after this proclamation, any one shall be guilty of either of the said offences, it will be the duty of district officers to give immediate information thereof to the Durbar, more especially in the case of stealing and selling children; and if any kardar shall fail to do so, he will be held personally responsible for the same. Let public officers, therefore, as soon as ever they hear of any thing of the sort, seize and imprison the perpetrators, aiders, and abettors therein, and report the same to the Durbar, who will sit in judgment thereon.

"And be it known that no distinction will be made between the actual perpetrator of any of the crimes aforesaid, and those who aid or abet him in the perpetration, both will be equally punished.

"Written, signed, and sealed at Lahore, on 8th Saween, 1903, with the royal signet."

"Let all men, therefore, obey it."

PROCLAMATION BY THE LAHORE DURBAR FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF FORCED LABOUR, DATED 21ST JULY, 1847.

"Whereas hitherto it has been the common practice of all, whether public servants or not, to take upon themselves to seize men, ponies, carts, &c., &c., in the villages, or in the highway, and force them into their own services, and then make an insufficient, or no compensation for the loss sustained, a practice which the government has repeatedly but in vain denounced (complaints still reaching the royal ear as frequently as as ever); now by the advice and approval of Col. Lawrence, C.B., Agent-Governor-General, North-west Frontier, and President at Lahore, it is proclaimed to all kardars throughout the kingdom, for the security of the Maa Rhajah's subjects (who are moreover the creatures of God, and their happiness dear to him), that henceforward no one, whatever his rank or dignity, is to be allowed, without urgent necessity, to seize carriage forcibly (whether men, horses, carts, or any kind), and if unavoidable, then remuneration shall be paid by the person so requiring it, according to the following rates:—

"Carts, per Bullock . . .	On the March . . .	4 As.
	Halting	2 "
"Camels	On the March . . .	4 "
	Halting	2 "
"Bullocks and Camels, back hire . . .	per day	2 "

"Ponies and Mules, 24 koss for a rupee.

"Coolies, per day, or for a March of 6 or 7 koss, 2 annas.

"Should any one not strictly adhere to these rules, or refuse to pay the hire above-named, and complaint of the same reach the government, a severe punishment will be inflicted."

The manner in which the attention of the Seikhs was first called to the inhumanity of Sutte, infanticide, and slave dealing is singular. Lord Hardinge, as each successive state along our north-west frontier has consented to similar reforms, took due care that the correspondence relating to them, with his acknowledgments of the gratification derived from them, should appear in the *Gazette*. We all know how effective is the force of example—how ambitious the grandees and chiefs are to be considered our brethren and our friends. We are obviously in earnest in our anxiety to have these monstrous evils eradicated, and if attending to our wishes was not the way to win our favour, the rejection of them was very likely to occasion our displeasure. State after State, according, came into our views. The Governor-General's intimation had been published in Persian, and largely circulated throughout the Punjab as matters of news; and at length the Durbar determined that they would follow an example set by so many around them before they were left alone, and their compliance with our views stripped by delay of all its gracefulness. The Seikh proclamation is greatly better expressed than any of those we have yet observed, and most properly rests the measure they adopted on its true basis—the displeasure the Father of Mercies must feel at the contemplation of cruelty practised on his creatures.

The arrangement, in reference to the troops, will perhaps affect a still larger number of the community than the abolition of the rites just named. The Seikh soldiers seem to have been accustomed to forage for themselves wherever they went, and to compel the people on their line of march to supply them, without charge, with whatever they desired. Oppressive as are exactions such as these in the mildest form, the recklessness with which they are indulged in by despotic disorderly soldiers, who commonly waste as much as they consume, and aggravate injury by insult, make them doubly intolerable. The first portion of the system has, we presume, for some considerable time been put an end to, if we may guess from the directions lately given to Colonel Tara Singh, to pay down the value of what he and his men had taken from the villages, or quit the service. They are now punctually paid, and in every way

carefully attended to. By last letters no arrears were due to them, they having been paid up to the end of June.

The system of family remittances has been re-introduced, and the Seikh troops, but one tenth in number what they formerly were, are already well-behaved, decorous, and obedient, instead of being a band of lawless marauding ruffians as before in the days of their pride and mischievousness.—*Bombay Times*, Sept. 1.

PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Anti-Slavery cause in the United States is one of progress. A great movement has been going on during the last few months in many directions, bearing directly on slavery, more especially since the introduction of the "Wilmot Proviso" into Congress. Emboldened by the discussions in Congress, the people now give utterance to their sentiments in unmistakable language. Of course the agitation is not confined to the friends of liberty; the slave-holders are on the alert, and are summoning all their strength in order to meet the rising tide of opposition, to their "domestic institutions."

The southern press is exceedingly active, and our files come loaded with their opinions, couched in no courteous language, and breathing indignation against all opponents. The southern church too, is, as usual, lending her aid to the oppressor, and is urging her supporters on, by declaring, that heaven approves of their doings. But there is a great want of unanimity in the south; many of the people are awaking to a sense of their duty and their interest, and are awaiting for an opportunity to deliver themselves from the yoke which slavery binds on their shoulders. The following is a summary of the information which we have received:—

MARYLAND.

At a meeting in Cecil county, Maryland, on the 26th ult., the following resolutions were passed:—

Resolved,—That the time has come when our sectional jealousies and differences should be forgotten in an earnest and persevering effort to rid not only Maryland, but the country at large, of this moral and social evil.

Resolved,—That we are determined that our sanction shall never be given to the further extension of slavery, feeling as we do, that having allowed it the constitutional guarantee within its present limits, we have done all that can be fairly asked of us as lovers of truth and justice, or as true patriots.

Another meeting was held in the county, in which Marylanders declared their determination to discuss the whole subject, and passed the following resolve:—

Resolved,—That we believe that not only the physical, but the moral, interests of Maryland, demand that slavery shall cease within her borders—resting, as it does, like an incubus upon her body social, while blasting, as if with a general mildew, the fruits of her beautiful and naturally productive soil, and drying up, as with a rushing wind, the fountains of truth and justice.

A letter from a Kentuckian, in Cumberland, Maryland, to a friend in this city, says:—

"There is an evident and growing determination to bring up the subject of emancipation, and when the presidential election is over, I believe it will be done, as slave-holders seem as bent upon it as those who do not own any negroes."

This looks bright and cheering. It seems, indeed, as if the border slave States were resolved to master their one great evil. The will alone is wanting. Give them that, and they conquer it, and rise to a pitch of moral and physical greatness, such as they could never begin to reach under slavery.—*Louisville Examiner*.

DELAWARE.

The following interesting address gives us a clear view of what has been, and what is proposed to be done.

CIRCULAR FROM THE DELAWARE STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To all the Benevolent wherever this may come.

BRETHREN and SISTERS,—This circular is addressed to you for the purpose of soliciting your aid in the work of abolishing slavery in the State of Delaware. The preaching of Anti-Slavery truth for the last twenty-five years has not been useless. The facts and arguments which have been so freely published in our country have been gradually producing their legitimate effect. The tone of public sentiment has undergone a material change. An undercurrent has been setting towards the port of freedom, silent, perhaps generally unobserved, but none the less sure of progress on that account, until now individuals and whole States are prepared, or nearly so, for the incipient steps of emancipation.

Kentucky, Delaware, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, are moving—slowly—all too slowly, it is true, but they are *moving*: a sure harbinger of a “better day coming.” In Delaware there are now about two thousand three hundred slaves. These are held by a comparatively small part of our population. The great majority of our citizens are non-slave-holders—many of them from the Northern States, and the number of this class rapidly increasing. They are opposed to the system of slavery in interest, and in feeling if that could be properly reached and developed. A prospective bill for emancipation was before our legislature at its last session. The vote on its final passage in the House stood—for the bill, 8; against it, 4. In the Senate, after the second reading, a motion was made for an indefinite postponement, on which the vote stood—for the motion, 5; against it, 4. When the result was known, considerable excitement ensued, and remonstrances were sent to the Senate, which were the occasion of a motion for reconsideration, which was lost by a tie vote, one member being absent. This occurred just at the close of the session. Had the bill been earlier before that body, there is a probability of a different result having obtained.

“From these facts, the friends of freedom feel that they have great cause for encouragement to put forth renewed efforts for the accomplishment of our object. This our Society proposes doing. (We would send forth the living agent, as well as tracts and periodicals, appealing to the consciences and common sense of our citizens.) We would leave no stone unturned, to have that accomplished at the next meeting of our Legislature, which failed at the last. We doubt not that a corresponding activity will be shown by those determined to adhere to the system of slavery. Yet unwilling to release their captives, they will appeal to all that is selfish, deter by threats the timid, and deceive the unwary. We would be more active, more vigilant, more untiring than they; but we are few in number, and limited in our resources. For the means to carry on our warfare, we must look to benevolence abroad. Let Delaware abolish slavery, and other States will follow. It will be the opening wedge for further action. It is here, then, the battle of freedom must be fought. It is here the first victory is to be gained. Who is there to come to the rescue? “Come one, come all,” come to the relief of the downtrodden. Come, clear our fair country of the foul blot of slavery.

(Signed) “BENJAMIN WEBB, *President*.
“JAMES B. BROCKE, *Secretary*.”

KENTUCKY CONVENTION.

“The first step has been taken! The Convention Question is carried in Kentucky.

“We say not that all who voted for Convention are in favour of emancipation; but this we do say, that the great majority are.

“The first word we heard, when we commenced the *Examiner* was, “you will throw back the cause,” and the more thoughtless added “we are glad you are out—it will stop the Convention.”

“We knew better. We knew that *thinking* men were not to be influenced by this consideration, and that real, earnest hoppers for freedom, would only work the harder for it. We said so. The result—the vote of Louisville especially—*proves* that we were right.

“The PEOPLE want to get at this question of slavery: They are eager to drive the evil from our soil for ever. Where are their leaders? Where are the good and great to speak for them? Where the *far-seeing*, clad in proof-mail, and ready to take and give blows in the glorious cause? Where THE MEN willing to labour and to wait? Never was the harvest riper, and so full of promise. Never before had the gleaners in any field a surer yield and a richer future. Let them reap it—let the one blot upon Kentucky be swept away—let her voice go up for freedom, through their instrumentality, and not only will they be fixed stars in the clear upper sky, on which all posterity should love to gaze, but they will so shake and rack the accursed evil elsewhere, that VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, and TENNESSEE will echo back their shout for liberty and be FREE!

“What a motive! What a result! Up, men of Kentucky, and seize the opportunity of greatness forced upon you! Up, and make glad our good old commonwealth! Up, and wing forth influences, which shall plant the standard of freedom in our sister states, South, West, and East! Up, and let it be your glory, and the glory of Kentucky, that of all the planting states, we first heaved off the incubus of slavery, and proclaimed UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION TO MAN.

“The vote for a convention will throw light on the question, as to what the people of Kentucky feel and think on the question of slavery. *This vote has been purely the act of the people*. Not more than three or four papers in the state, advocated, openly, the Convention! Not a dozen leading politicians made it the theme of their discourse! Yet the people have said, “Let us have a Convention—let us have a new Constitution.”—What do they mean? What want they? What thought they when they said this? Let public men ponder on these questions. The answer to them will come by-and-by.

“The *Louisville Examiner*, in addition to the above, says, that no

annual meeting of churches, South or North, has been held, in which slavery, in one form or another, has not been discussed.

“What is the sign? That our whole people are discussing it—thinking about it—preparing to act upon it. A letter from a friend of ours in Georgia, says:—

* * * * * “No matter what is said. If you in Kentucky could move, and give the impulse to Tennessee, so that she could act, all of Western Georgia would go for emancipation. Such counties as Habersham are made up of small farmers, and they detest the institution. We all look to Kentucky and to you with hope.” * *

“We have similar letters from Tennessee, East. A writer from Jonesboro’, says, “Give the word in Kentucky and we will answer you instantly. We are ready.” A friend from Jefferson, Ashe County, North Carolina, declares—“Slavery exists in name here, but we have all its evils forced upon us, and I don’t know but two leading men who would oppose the doing away of it—away down to middle North Carolina, the feeling is the same.” Other letters from slave states are equally strong.”

VIRGINIA.

The *Liberty Herald*, of Philadelphia, contains the following important announcement, headed “THE CRISIS.”

“We have received the prospectus of an anti-slavery paper, with this title. It is to be published in Moundsville, Marshall county, Virginia. ‘It will be devoted,’ says the prospectus, ‘to morality, religion, political and general intelligence, and legal emancipation. It will be edited by Anson Berkshire, in connexion with one or more corresponding editors, whose ability is known. His main purpose will be, by every peaceful, constitutional, and Christian method, to restore the prosperity of Virginia, by advocating the claims of Liberty, as the *only real basis* on which to build that prosperity.’ The paper contemplates the reform of numerous political and legal abuses, which slavery has introduced into the institutions of Virginia, and adds: ‘The advantages of maintaining a well-conducted newspaper, of an anti-slavery character, in the Old Dominion, can scarcely be doubted at this time.’”

We rejoice at this new indication of the progress of right sentiment in the South. The *Herald*, commenting on the agencies by which this particular movement has been brought about, says:—

“We have seen some pleasant anti-slavery meetings on the utmost verge of Washington county, (Pa.) made up chiefly of Virginians, who hitched their horses on the other side of Mason and Dixon, while they heard our gospel gladly on the free soil of Pennsylvania, from our friend, Dr. Lemoyne, who by his able and untiring labours has made himself responsible for much of the anti-slavery sentiment now ultimating itself within the Virginia border. In dialogue, debate, and public discourse, the Doctor is, we think, upon the whole, without a rival in the West.”

AN IMPORTANT SUGGESTION! NEW MOVES! EAST TENNESSEE! WESTERN VIRGINIA!

We copy the following short extract of a letter just received from East Tennessee:—

“You made last year this suggestion to Mr. * * * *, and the Rev. Mr. * * * *, in reply to the question—what shall, or *can*, we do in East Tennessee, for emancipation, viz.:—*that each county should have the right, whenever the majority in that county should so determine, to establish freedom therein*. Since then we have debated the subject, and corresponded about it, and we have come to the conclusion that we ought to act upon it, and will do so before long.”

The condition of the upland or mountain regions of Virginia, North Carolina, and East Tennessee, is pretty well understood. They are chiefly settled by non-slaveholders. In the early settlement of these States, the planting regions had the preponderance. But the *uplands* have now the numerical strength, and are increasing, while the slave portions are decreasing in power. Very soon, therefore, they will break the thrall with which unjust apportionments have kept, and still keep, them down, and obtain ascendancy in the legislative councils of these States.

Acting under this belief, we urged certain friends of ours in East Tennessee, Western North Carolina, and Western Virginia, to agitate and urge this view—that new Constitutions, as they are made, should provide, *that any county may become free from slavery, whenever a majority of the legal voters should so determine, and that thereafter there should be, except for crime, no involuntary servitude in said county*.

The justness of this principle cannot be disputed. If Eastern Virginia thrives under a system which ruins Western Virginia, why should Western Virginia be compelled to adopt it? If Western North Carolina is crushed by slavery, while Eastern North Carolina flourishes under it, why should the latter force the former to sustain it? If Western and Middle Tennessee have a majority of slave-holders, why should they thrall the non-slaveholders of Eastern Tennessee with a policy which ruins or injures them? There is no reason in this—no justice.

"In the upland counties of these States, slavery is nominal merely. Take for example—

Western North Carolina.

	Slaves.	Total Population.
Aspe	470	7,467
Cherokee	199	3,427
Haywood	303	4,975
Henderson	466	5,129
Lincoln	2,711	25,960
Burke.....	3,169	15,799

Western Virginia.

	Slaves.	Total Population.
Brooke	54	7,948
Marshall.....	46	6,937
Ohio	231	13,357
Lewis	122	8,151
Nicholas.....	71	2,233
Greenbrier.....	1,314	8,695

Eastern Tennessee.

	Slaves.	Total Population.
Marion	380	6,070
Monroe	312	12,056
Jefferson.....	675	12,076
Greene	509	16,076
Blount.....	883	11,745
Granger	1,095	10,552

"Now, in making these selections, we have taken, what we regard, as a fair representation of the upland country of these States. Some contain more slaves, some less. But the *proportion* of white and black is fairly set forth. How largely non-slaveholders preponderate! And what is there to prevent them from saying to the Legislature, "We mean to disturb no man's rights, nor interfere with any other section, but we want a just representative principle, and the right to say when this evil of slavery shall cease in our own county by the only fair rule—a *majority vote*. Legislatures give the right to temperance men. It is a fundamental one, and in case of wrongs, of actual oppression, social and political, we claim it as a right which we ought to have, and which you should grant." A clearer case of justice could not be made out—no people should hesitate in demanding such a right—no Legislature think of refusing it.

"And we are glad that our friends in Eastern Tennessee intend agitating this question! Let them go about it in earnest! Let the valley of the Nolly Chucky, and the mountain regions of the Houlston, be canvassed! They will find a hearty response, if they act resolutely, from Shoun's cross-roads, down to Knoxville, and all across the hill lands, West, from the people, whenever they are made to *know* what is wanted, and the principle on which the proposed action is to be based.

"For the encouragement of these friends, we can say *distinctly*, that Western Virginia will move on this subject within a very short period: we think in less than three months. This part of the Old Commonwealth has felt so keenly her wrongs, that it almost resolved upon seeking a division of the State; many of her best citizens declared that *this must be*. But the ground we urged years ago, and which we pressed upon our friends in the States named, in 1846, will be adopted, and Western Virginia will ask the Legislature that she be allowed, by law, to get rid of slavery, and many of her leading men intend, at once, agitating this subject, so as to prepare the people for the step in 1850. They will, at the East, do as the East please, Western Virginians mean neither to interfere with the rights of slaveholders there, nor to seek to change the existing system; but they will demand that the West shall have liberty to act, in this matter, as the West may deem fit. This is determined upon.

"And who shall stop the ball when thus set in motion? It will roll on and on, and start Eastern Tennessee, and Western North Carolina into action, and make the mountains echo and re-echo with the shout of freedom. The South will redeem herself. There is strength in her yet, and hope too; a bright prospect ahead, even if it require hard work and rough fare, and no gentle usage, ere we reach the promised land—the Pisgah height—from which we shall see the clear sunshine, and feel the freshening breezes, which are to warm, gladden, invigorate, and stir us up with all the quickening pulses of a new and full vitality."—*Louisville Examiner*.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF ILLINOIS.

The Illinois Convention adjourned on the 30th ultimo, having adopted a Constitution, for which, on its final passage, 131 members voted—only seven in the negative. Slavery or involuntary servitude is prohibited by it in the State. The question of "Bank or no Bank," and also the

question of prohibiting the immigration of coloured persons into the State, are submitted to the people.—*National Era*.

We now refer to the Action of the Southern Slaveholders, in connexion with the press and the pulpit. The following extracts will discover the feeling of the South in reference to the growth of Anti-slavery sentiment. They are taken from the Southern press:—

SOUTH CAROLINA.

"Abolition, says the *South Carolina Journal*, was once laughed at, and ridiculed as one of the sprouts of Massachusetts fanaticism. Then it might have been foolish to have honoured it with notice; but any observer must have seen with what astonishing rapidity the seeds of this deleterious weed have been scattered throughout the entire territory of the North; for now the man is denounced as a traitor, irrespective of party, who does not come up to the full spirit and letter of the Wilmot Proviso. Southern statesmen, how stand ye? Do you still intend to fraternize with those who denounce your institutions, trample upon your rights, and laugh at you when you speak of the Constitution? If you do, the consequences be yours, and your constituency and your country may be called to curse the day that gave you political existence.

"We call upon Southern statesmen and Southern editors to take immediate steps for concerted action. Let the proposition come from some of our leading statesmen; let those who have in by-gone days buckled on their armour, again come up to the demands of duty; let them lay aside for a little their personal schemes of ambition and aggrandizement, for the weal of their country, and the evil may be averted. Let us have a thorough organization; let there be concert of action, and unanimity of opinion; and, then, if we fail, the deplorable results cannot be charged to our account."

The following is from the *Charleston Mercury*. The writer urges the necessity for Action in the place of Argument. He says—

"It is useless to reason with fanatics. I class the non-slaveholding States as a body, because eleven of them have, by their legislation, proved themselves Abolitionists, and the remainder have given no proof that they are not—they who are not with us, in the present state of things, being to all intents and purposes against us. The eleven States which have adopted the Wilmot Proviso have proved themselves Abolitionists in the fullest acceptance of the term, the object of that Proviso being aimed at, and, if successful, inevitably calculated to accomplish, the overthrow of the institution of slavery. With fanatics it is impossible to argue. They recognize no grounds of truth. The word of God, which is truth, they reject, or misconstrue, as it suits their views. All facts they misrepresent; in short, they are in a state of visionary and enthusiastic frenzy, unfit to reason or to be reasoned with, but very fit, if left to have their way, to produce evil incalculable. With such to argue, is to cast pearls before swine. What, then, becomes the duty of the slaveholding States in these times which are about to try men? One and all, to make known to their representatives the course they are to follow at the approaching session of Congress—namely, to await silently the result, and if the Wilmot Proviso is passed, to return to their homes. None other than this is the duty of the slaveholding States; and God grant they may do it; for on their united and unflinching firmness depends the preservation of the Union, if it is to be preserved. If the above views are true, and it appears to my mind that they cannot be controverted, a Convention of the slaveholding States may be necessary, in order that the people and our representatives may understand our determination. But this I leave to those who are more experienced in the affairs of State than I am to decide, only suggesting that, whatever is to be done be done quickly."

We give one extract more, from a correspondent of the *Charleston Mercury*:—

"We must, Mr. Editor, insist that the territory of the nation, whether acquired by treaty, purchase, or conquest, is, and shall be, for the common benefit, and open to the slaveholder and his property; and that we will enjoy it, every man, if we choose to go to it, in spite of Federal legislation to the contrary. We deny that Congress has any jurisdiction as to slavery, either in the States or territories, or District of Columbia, or the slave-trade between them; and we will not permit any attempted exercise of it. But we assert that the jurisdiction belongs to slaveholders, as forming States or occupying territories, and to them only. We object to the extension of the Ordinance of 1787, or the further application of the Missouri Compromise. They were unwise concessions, having reference only to their special objects, and must not be permitted any force of precedent for further extension. We must concede and compromise no more. We claim, and will have, by rights existing before, as well as by the Constitution, the whole limits and extent of this Federal empire, wherein to assert, every man, his right to his slave, whether in State or territory, and to his labour, as well as person, in all territory not now embraced under that ordinance and compromise. We will and must insist that any

territory acquired from Mexico, *whatever be the mode or terms*, becomes at once open to slaveholders and slaves, *without the permission or in defiance of any legislation of Congress*; and that the Wilmot Proviso is a nullity as against the jurisdiction of the people of the territory over the matter. This latter is, of course, subject to the provisions and guarantees of the Constitution. We deny that the Constitution is subject to any amendment interfering with slavery, even by three-fourths of Congress or the States.

In addition to these, we might give numerous extracts from the Southern press, in which the spread of Abolitionism is deplored, and vigorous action to repel their advances is advised, and threats of the dissolution of the Union are made; but we have only room for one which discloses the feeling of the Southern Church on the subject. Thus speaks the *Southern Baptist* :—

"The fact is most glaringly palpable, that a crisis in the history of Southern Christians has arrived, which renders it the imperious duty of all Southern Christian patriots to meet promptly and energetically. All the indications are that the time is at hand when Christians at the South must assume higher responsibilities. There is not published beyond the limits of the South, a book, pamphlet, review, magazine, tract, periodical, or newspaper, whether religious, political, or commercial, which is not tinged, more or less, if it be possible to introduce the subject, with something bearing directly or remotely against the Southern Social System. The poisonous influence of such insidious infusion of principles, antagonistic to our institutions, into the popular mind, and especially if instilled into the mind of the rising generation, will eventually be felt. The principles of our institutions have been demonstrated most ably to be scriptural and politically constitutional; but there is a more powerful influence exerted upon the sentimentality of a people, which undermines gradually, almost imperceptibly, but not less certainly, the foundations of public opinion. We feel too secure. We are not adequately sensible of our dangers. Dangers there are—it must not be disguised; and it behoves Southern Christians not only ecclesiastically and religiously to prepare themselves for self-protection, but politically to maintain that balance of power which is now, more than ever, in our political history, dangerously jeopardized. We are no alarmists, and yet a note of alarm cannot be too soon or too loudly sounded throughout the whole slaveholding territory. Enemies are in our midst; they belong to all nations; they are untiring and most subtle. Some are fanatical, some are political, some religious, some infidel, some unprincipled; but a more dangerous and most numerous class are learned, conscientious, and most politic and ingenious, and are doing the mischief. Let us prepare for the worst."

We will just add, that the publication of the *National Era*, at Washington, has given great offence to the Southerners, who, seeing that they cannot crush it, are attempting to raise an opposition paper. The following extracts are from their published circular :—

"You cannot but have observed the rapid progress of the Anti-slavery spirit, for some time past, and the alarming influence it has exercised on the politics of the country, as exhibited at Washington and throughout the non-slaveholding States of the Union.

"The inundation of Congress with petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, though the act of petitioning for such a purpose assumes an inferiority in the slaveholding States, and the language of the petitions is replete with vituperation and insult, has been persevered in until it has almost ceased to arrest attention. The application in the United States, of the principle of the English case of *Sommersett*, decided by Lord Mansfield, by which it is declared that the relation of master and slave ceases as soon as the parties pass the jurisdiction of the local laws which authorize slavery—a principle which isolates and degrades the slaveholder—has been more than half acquiesced in. We have seen State after State legislating with a view to avoid the act of Congress in regard to fugitive slaves, and prevent its interference with the above principle, until we are so familiarized with such legislation, that the public are scarce aware that the Pennsylvania legislature has recently nullified this act of Congress, and affixed a heavy punishment to the attempt to enforce it within the limits of the State.

"While clouds thus gather, what preparation do we make for the impending storm? Are our people even aware of its approach?

"How have the Abolitionists, so inconsiderable in numbers, and themselves without official station, effected so much? The answer is obvious. They have *adhered to principle*. They have made it paramount to party organization and temporary policy, and they have thus held the *balance of power* between the two great parties. They have, on this account, been courted alternately, and together, by Whig and Democrat, until it has come about that no politician, on either side, is considered as "*available*," who cannot enlist in his behalf this necessary vote; and they are, actually, at this moment, controlling the destinies of this great Confederacy! Shall we not profit by their example?

"The Abolitionists have, throughout the non-slaveholding States, pressed zealously, ably, and efficiently, enforcing their views, and presenting their paramount principle—and they have lately established an organ in the city of Washington."

Sentiments like these, and springing from such a source, cannot but brighten our hopes for the future, and lead us to anticipate the day when Slavery shall exist no more within the territories of the United States.

ILLUSTRATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

We copy the following incident from a publication which has lately been placed in our hands, intitled a "*Plea for the South*:"

"It would be easy to give examples of the 'tender mercies' of the slave-holders, under sanction of law; but having seen, in too many instances, the unwillingness and disgust with which the free community listen to the details of the sufferings of the slaves, I have hope of better success from an appeal to their understanding than from an attack upon their passions. Yet they will allow me in the following little incident to touch a sympathy, which, although implanted in youth, reserves its full fruition for the close of life.

"I once remained for a few weeks at a hotel in the state of Tennessee. Being in delicate health, my intercourse with the family came to be on the most familiar terms; and a room was assigned me in the immediate vicinity of the nursery, of which an aged black woman seemed to be the superintendant. She was usually sad, and peculiar from a habit of extempore singing. Late in the night, I could hear her rocking to and fro, and uttering her piteous plaint, now in the tone of song, now in the voice of prayer, and often with sighs and sobs.

"The nightly petition of this mournful serenade at last induced me to ask the mistress the cause of the grief of her aged slave; and I learned that she had belonged to a planter in Virginia, the father of her present lady. Early in life she married, or took, without ceremony, as her husband, a worthy fellow-slave, with whom she cohabited until the death of her master; when, with the other property, the slaves were divided among the heirs of the estate, she falling to her present owner, and her husband to another branch of the family. She had been a valuable and trusty servant, and now, notwithstanding her age and infirmities, was a faithful nurse. 'But why does she mourn so?' I asked. 'Oh,' said her mistress, 'it is because she cannot see her husband. He was old and lame, and it did not belong to us to take care of him, and so he was left. But she is of no use to me, and I indulge her in all her ways; yet it does seem that she will not try to be happy—she is so unreasonable!' I thought otherwise.

"With permission, I afterwards became a visitant of the nursery, and sometimes attempted to comfort the poor old negress, whom I often found singing, 'Oh! Tazzo, old man, no see um Suk-e-e! Ah! Tazzo, good man, too old to work-e-e! Who comb him wooly head? Who wash um foot-e-e? Who cook um homin-e-e? Who mend um clothes-e-e?' 'Tell me, aunty,' said I, 'who are you singing about?' 'Oh, dear,' said she, 'it is my poor ole husband, my poor old man!' and then she wailed and sang, 'Poor Tazzo, oldy man left all alon-e-e!' I inquired if she had left no children to console him? 'No,' she replied, in a voice so sharp, that I feared she was about to strike me, 'Ole massa sole um all, dat's what he raise um for (rocks and sings, with tears fast falling). 'Who care for chil'm now? All gon-e-e, gon-e-e!' This poor creature had given her children, without knowing the pleasures of a mother's love. She had never considered as her own, nor suffered her affections to twine about them. But her poor husband, with whom she had travelled through a long life of servitude, had become the sole object of her solicitude; and she declared to me, that she *would not live*, if they did not let her go home, and 'comfort de poor ole man.'

"There is a mutual kindness and childlike love between two aged people under the ordinary circumstances of husband and wife; but with the slaves, in the unusual privileges of growing old together, their youthful tenderness ripens into an all-absorbing devotion. Negroes are naturally affectionate creatures, and in advanced age kindness predominates over all other feelings, even towards those who have treated them roughly.

"Whenever I think of that poor old negress, her husband, lame and lonely, is also present to my view. They will see each other no more, on earth; but may they again be united in that world, where the fetters of bondage are unknown; where they may realize for their offspring that regard which the base traffic in human flesh has denied them here."

We have learned that the poor old negress died, without having seen again her aged companion in suffering and sorrow.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1st, 1847.

The effect of the late measure relating to the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the British markets is beginning to be felt in two ways. The British West Indian planters, who must not be confounded with the West India Committee, in this country, which professes to represent them, loudly proclaim that it has not only lowered the price of their sugars to so great an extent as to annihilate all profit, but has really inflicted upon them a severe loss; whilst on the other hand, it has increased the profits of the sugar-growers of the Spanish colonies and Brazil so much as to enhance the value of their slave properties more than fifty per cent., and to give a new and fearful stimulus to slavery and the slave-trade. An extract of a letter from the *Times* of the 27th ult., and which will be found elsewhere, places the latter melancholy fact beyond all doubt.

We do not, however, agree either with the planters, or with that portion of the press which they have contrived to enlist on their side, that the position in which they are now found is wholly traceable to the Government. They, themselves, or their friends in this country are most to blame, for had they not consented to the introduction of slave-grown sugar, on condition of an increased immigration of labourers, and other supposed advantages as an equivalent, we believe it could not have taken place, at least for some time to come.

After having done what they could to compel the labour of the emancipated slaves, and to alienate them from their estates by practices which no freemen would endure, the planters began to cry out lustily for emigrants, and not in vain; for we find that from the year 1834, the period when slavery assumed the form of apprenticeship, up to the end of 1846, the number of immigrants officially reported to have been introduced into the four colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Mauritius, was above ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND! or, from 1834 to 1839, inclusive, 35,000; from 1840 to 1842, inclusive, 22,000; and from 1843 to 1846, inclusive, upwards of 93,000! Nor have the planters been restricted to any one locality for the supply of labourers; they have imported them from Canada, the United States, Africa, Europe, St. Helena, the East Indies, and Madeira. Nor is this all:—They have not, except in comparatively few instances, imported them at their own expense. The colonies have been taxed to the utmost point of endurance,—shamefully and unjustly taxed,—to pay for foreign labour, to enable the planters to beat down the wages of the native labourer to the lowest point. This is the part that has been played for several years past, until the oppressed people begin to cry out under their wrongs, and to demand relief. It is all very well for the West India body to tell the Government and the people of England, that if they will give them an abundant supply of labourers, they will engage to beat the Cuban and Brazilian slave-holders in the market. The reply to such pretences is, the Government have already done it, and, speaking financially, have almost brought the colonies to ruin by doing it. Jamaica can bear the burden no longer, and has resolved to throw it off. British Guiana has not only been exhausted of its means, but has been brought into debt by a loan ordinance, exclusively for immigration purposes, which will, first and last, absorb three quarters of a million of money, besides an additional enormous annual outlay, to meet the heavy general expenditure of the colony. Trinidad is to be put in pledge also for about half a million in the same way. As to Mauritius, the Treasury has actually been drained of £300,000, which were deposited therein for the purpose of being appropriated to public works, which we cannot but regard as an illegal act, for which the parties who sanctioned it should be held responsible.

The inhabitants of the last three colonies, who feel the intolerable pressure of this state of things, have unhappily no means of defending themselves from planter-rapacity, or local misgovernment. They have no voice in Courts of Policy or Legislative Councils; their petitions and remonstrances are treated with disdain by well-paid Government officials and planter-legislators, and the Colonial Office itself is practically shut against them, for the only answers they get to their respectful and urgent memorials, are new laws inflicting fresh burdens in the shape of taxation, and ordinances, rendering more and more stringent the laws affecting the labouring classes.

The cry of the planters and their party is—"The Colonies are misgoverned!" Yes, truly, the colonies are misgoverned; but the victims of that misgovernment are not the planters, but the people. Under the late colonial administration they were scourged with thongs, but now it appears they are to be whipped with scorpions. The fact is, that those who are the bone and sinew, the real source of wealth of the colonies, are brought to the very verge of despair by unwise and unjust legislation, and feel that there is no escape for them, until the mother-country shall seriously investigate their wrongs, and redress them.

The West India interest, as it is falsely termed, boast that they are now in the ascendant at the Colonial Office; that Lord Grey concedes almost everything to them; and that Mr. Hawes is the most obliging and accommodating of all under-secretaries! They tell us, moreover, that the missionaries are henceforth to be tabooed, and the Anti-Slavery Society is a nullity. The exultation of the plantocracy and the colonial press is, consequently, immense. Be it so: We shall make no boast, or we might say, that we would even now back the missionaries and the Anti-Slavery Society, against the West India Committee and their most powerful supporters, on this plain ground, that all they ask for is justice; and that, sooner or later, they will obtain for all their colonial fellow-subjects.

We learn that the West India body is in constant communication with Government, and that large promises are made of supplies of labour from Africa. We can scarcely believe this; for, unless the slave-trade be revived, where are the labourers to be found?

The failure of so many large houses connected with the island of Mauritius, has naturally enough drawn public attention to the causes which have led to such disastrous results.

To the superficial observer, it would appear that the island was in a state of great prosperity, from the increasing quantity of produce shipped to this country, and the extraordinary facilities which have been afforded the planters of obtaining labour at the public expense, not merely for the purpose of keeping up the cultivation of their estates, but of greatly extending it. In the year 1831, the quantity of sugar exported to Great Britain was 456,546 cwts.; in 1839, 589,464 cwts.; and in 1846, 845,304 cwts. The crop of the present year will, it is said, exceed 1,250,000 cwts. But this apparent prosperity had no solid basis, as events have so strikingly proved.

We have long known that the Mauritian planters were in a state of beggary; that, in point of fact, their very life's blood had been drawn from them to swell the profits, or to meet the demands of the London houses. It now appears that the system which has been pursued has ruined both. We confess we were not prepared for this. We had thought that the enormous annual drain on the resources of the planters would have amply secured the agency and commission houses from loss, whatever might be the effect on themselves.

In a very remarkable despatch of Sir William Gomm, Governor of Mauritius, he thus states the case between the planters and the London houses:—

"A Commission House advancing money to a planter does so upon security of his estate and the crop thereof; therefore the planter becomes bound to sell all his sugars to his agent. The following are the mercantile and commission charges generally considered fair in the transaction, viz:—Nine per cent. interest on money advanced; six per cent. discount on bales of sugar; five per cent. commission; one-half per cent. brokerage; one per cent. for counting and paying money.

"The charges, therefore, upon a crop, before an estate can begin to defray the real expenses of its growth and produce, and before any profit accrues towards liquidation, is twenty-four per cent.

"Other charges there are on account of shipment, more fluctuating but always heavy; there are the fixed and inevitable burdens which press with intolerable weight upon the grower, though blessed with favourable seasons, and the liberal relief from duties extended by Her Majesty's Government, and which consign him to ruin under the additional infliction of drought, or other seriously unfavourable contingencies; and this is the ground upon which the mercantile requisitionists stand with regard to their clients the planters, while pleading the cause of these latter with the Government, and their own."

With such facts before us we really tremble at the consequences which must ensue, when the news that such houses as Reid, Irving,

and Co.; Gower and Co.; Barclay and Co.; Scott, Bell and Co.; and Cockerell and Co., have failed, shall become known at Mauritius. How the engagements connected with the mad speculations of sugar planters and agency houses are to be met, we know not; we are persuaded, however, that the great cause of the ruin of all parties, will be found in the absurd and improvident immigration schemes, which have been sanctioned by the Government, and of which the London houses have been the chief abettors.

In February last we called the attention of our readers to the heads of an Ordinance for promoting immigration of labourers into the British colonies, the object of which was, by an ingenious contrivance of stamp duties on labour contracts, monthly taxation, and punishments, to compel all Coolie and African immigrants to devote themselves exclusively to the cultivation of sugar, for a period of five years.

Against this violation of the rights of labour we entered our protest; but, inasmuch as the House of Commons was assured that the projected ordinance would be reviewed before it went into operation, we were disposed to wait until it should fairly come before us as an enactment, considering it to be sufficient, in the mean time, to forward to Earl Grey, the strictures of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, on that extraordinary production "The Heads of an Ordinance."

The Ordinance has, however, been enacted, and has gone into effect in Trinidad, British Guiana, and Mauritius; and no opportunity has been given for review or alteration. Such is the way the most important legislation is now disposed of by the local authorities and the Home Government.

The Ordinance to which we refer is the most stringent that was ever allowed to go into operation, except during the time of slavery, by any British Government. The principles on which it is based are most vicious; such as would not be tolerated for a moment if they were to be attempted to be applied in this country.

As we have only had in our possession a copy of the Mauritius Ordinance for the last day or two, we cannot present our readers with an analysis of it. We shall be prepared, however, to do so in our next.

The intelligence by the last West Indian Mail is extremely distressing and discouraging in reference to the Coolie and Portuguese immigrants in Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana. Their misery and suffering are very great, and the mortality among them, awful. Every man throughout the country ought to lift up his voice against this inhuman scheme until the Government and the West Indians shall be compelled to abandon it.

The brigands who form the American army have at length, after a series of bloody battles, become masters of the city of Mexico. It remains, however, to be seen, whether they will be permitted to maintain their position, or whether that city may not become their sepulchre. An exasperated population, whose country has been invaded, in defiance of the obligations of justice, and for the most wicked of purposes, may yet exact a terrible revenge. We are no advocates for war, but certainly if any people were ever justified in taking the sword against their enemies, it is the Mexicans. The whole of civilized Europe has pronounced its condemnation of the atrocious war in which they are now engaged. It will be stamped with infamy on the page of history; and believing, as we do, in a retributive providence, we have no doubt, that, sooner or later, a fearful expiation will be demanded of the United States.

The war had its origin in the basest treachery and fraud. The whole history of the annexation of Texas to the United States, proves that the men who engaged in it, were destitute of all principle, reckless of all obligations, unscrupulous as to means, and added the vilest hypocrisy to their criminal projects. Texas they would have; it was necessary to the security of the Southern States and the preservation of slavery; but having obtained Texas partly by force and partly by fraud, they cast a longing eye towards the adjacent provinces, their object being the same—to extend the domain of slavery, or to intrude it again on territories, where it had long since been abolished; and now, flushed with victory, and irritated that their opponents will not submit to their terms, they propose to extend their dominion over the whole of Mexico until they have the Pacific as well as the Atlantic ocean, to wash their coasts. For this purpose, it is reported, fresh armies are to be

recruited and despatched to Mexico to compel, by force of arms, entire submission to the invaders.

The Mexicans, we perceive, are not averse to peace, on what they conceive to be honourable terms. They feel, probably, that they are unequal, both in physical strength and resources, to their enemies, yet they are unwilling, in any territory they may cede or sell, that the Americans should introduce the curse of slavery; they, therefore, make it a condition, that this shall not be done; and, if we mistake not, there is a growing determination among the better class of Americans, that, whatever territory may henceforth be annexed to their country, it shall be free from that deadly evil. Mr. Webster, in a remarkable speech recently delivered, vigorously denounces the Mexican war—advises that an effort be made in Congress to stop the supplies unless President Polk can show that the war is prosecuted for no purpose of acquisition or dominion—announces the certainty of a Whig majority in the House of Representatives, and mentions terms on which his party would make peace with Mexico, which are nearly identical with those offered by Santa Anna to Mr. Trist, and refused by him. But, in addition to the Whig party, and, we may add, not a few of the Democratic party also, there is a large body of the intelligent and pious members of the Christian churches of the north, who look on this murderous war with feelings of the deepest abhorrence, and upon the men who have caused and who sustain it, with sacred indignation and horror. They feel that an awful amount of responsibility has been incurred by their rulers; that the blood which has been so wantonly shed will be required of their country; and that the attempt to build up slavery by such means only adds deeper turpitude to the iniquity of an unprovoked war. These are hopeful signs. It is impossible, we think, with the public sentiment of Europe so clearly expressed against the invasion of Mexico, and the increasing opposition of the best citizens of the United States to it, that the war can be long continued, or that the pro-slavery party, with whom it originated, will be long permitted to retain the power with which they have been temporarily invested, and which they have so much abused.

However much we may deplore this barbarous war, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that it will be permitted to issue in the further enslavement, and degradation of the human race, but, on the contrary, we cherish the hope that it will thoroughly awaken the conscience of the American people in behalf of the millions who sigh and groan in their land, by reason of oppression, that they will show the system of slavery no quarter, until they have compelled its abandonment as the foulest blot on their national character, and the greatest outrage they could perpetrate on the rights of humanity and on the laws of God.

Every month brings fresh intelligence from the Coast of Africa of the increased activity of the slave-trade. It is reported to be five times more active than last year, in consequence of the increased demand for the produce of Cuba and Brazil. One thing is now proved, namely—that the increased squadrons of cruisers on the coast have failed to put down the dreadful traffic, and that new measures are to be resorted to for that purpose. The following extract from the *Courrier Français*, will show what is now contemplated:—

"It is announced that negotiations have been opened between the Governments of France and England, in order to arrive at an arrangement for the modification of the treaty, signed by the Duke de Broglie, for the suppression of the slave-trade, on the Western Coast of Africa. The modification sought is, the diminution of the number of the vessels of the two squadrons, whose crews are decimated by sickness; and, at the same time, the adoption of efficacious and direct measures against the Sovereigns of the Coast of Africa, who are known for openly carrying on the trade."

We need scarcely say, that we have no more confidence in this mode of suppression, than of others of a like nature. As usual, the great offenders are to be allowed to pass by untouched, whilst the comparatively weak and uninstructed are to be made to feel the terrible effects of European war. The African Chiefs and Princes who allow the traffic to be carried on, so far as they can be reached by the arms of France and England, are to be coerced into its abandonment. We believe that this, and all similar means, will fail of its intended object.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN BRAZIL AND CUBA.

Extracts from a Letter to Lord John Russell, contained in the *Times* of the 27th October, under the Signature of Jacob Omnium:—

"Against the evil condition to which your Lordship has reduced the British Sugar Colonies, you have to boast the set-off of cheap sugar and increased consumption.

"Sugar is, indeed, at this moment sold cheap—as cheap as a bankrupt's effects usually are sold. There has been "an awful crash in trade;" and your Lordship, like the swindling Regent-street drapers, is gaining popularity by supplying your pleased customers with goods at half the price which they cost the honest and industrious men who made them.

"This, however, must soon come to an end; the supplies from the Mauritius and the West Indies will rapidly diminish, and that from the East Indies will cease altogether. Prices will then rise; the cry for more sugar—cheap sugar—will be louder than ever; and, as our own colonies will be unable to furnish it, you will have to transfer your custom to the foreign slave-driver.

"With him, my Lord, *cheap sugar means cheap slaves*.

"I spent the beginning of this year in Cuba, with a view of ascertaining the preparations which were being made in that island to meet the opening of our markets. To an Englishman coming up from Grenada and Jamaica the contrast between the paralyzed and decayed aspect of the trade of those colonies, and the spirit and activity which your measures had infused into that of the Havannah, was most disheartening.

"The town was illuminated when I landed, in consequence of the news of high prices from England. Three splendid trains of De Rosne's machinery, costing 40,000 dollars each, had just arrived from France, and were in process of erection; steam-engines and engineers were coming over daily from America; new estates were forming; coffee plantations were being broken up and their feeble gangs of old people and children, who had hitherto been selected for that light work, were formed into task gangs, and hired out by the month to the new *ingenios*, then in full drive.

"It was crop time. The mills went round night and day. On every estate (I scarcely hope to be believed when I state the fact) every slave was worked under the whip eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and, in the boiling-houses, from five to six P.M., and from eleven o'clock to midnight, when half the people were concluding their eighteen hours' work; the sound of the hellish lash was incessant; indeed, it was necessary to keep the overtasked wretches awake.

"The six hours during which they rested were spent in a barracoon—a strong, foul, close sty, where they wallowed without distinction of age or sex.

"There was no marrying amongst the slaves on the plantations; breeding was discouraged; it was cheaper and less troublesome to buy than to breed. On many estates females were entirely excluded; but an intelligent American planter told me he disapproved of that system; that the men drooped under it, and that he had found the most beneficial effects from the judicious admixture of a proportion of one 'lively wench' to five males, in a gang of which he had had charge. Religious instruction and medical aid were not carried out generally beyond baptism and vaccination.

"Whilst at work, the slaves were stimulated by drivers, armed with swords and whips, and protected by magnificent bloodhounds.

"To afford you an idea of the light in which negroes are looked upon by the Cuban planters, I will mention that I was present at a hiring bargain which took place between an American and a Frenchman, both men of unusually good character. The American wanted ten additional hands. The Frenchman only wished to let eight females, observing facetiously, '*Elles feront fureur parmi vos jeunes gens*.'

"At last the latter said, 'I'll tell you what I will do; I've a lame houseboy; he has never been used to field labour certainly, but he's a very spirited lad, and your mayoral may get a deal of work out of him if he only presses him a little; you shall have him; that will make nine; and then I've got a magnificent breeding wench, *aussi large que Monsieur*, (turning to me); she was confined three weeks ago. I'll wean her baby at once, give her a couple of purges, and she shall be here, fit to go to work, on Sunday.' And, as Dr. Locock was not there to remonstrate, the bargain was struck, the baby weaned, and the breeding wench put to work. Possibly your Lordship is at this moment sweetening your tea with the results of her exertions.

"The Spaniards have always been esteemed humane slave-owners, and I have no wish to make them out worse than they are; what I describe here I saw. The *lex scripta* of Cuba, as regards the negroes, is indeed most humane; but the corruption which pervades every branch of the public service in that island renders it entirely a dead letter.

"Travellers generally form their ideas of slavery from the domestic negroes, the only ones *en evidence*, who are picked slaves, and are generally much petted and spoiled; and it is very rarely that they have opportunities of witnessing what really goes on, on the sugar plantations. Our

Consul and our two slave-commissioners told me that they had never visited one since their residence in the island, and I doubt whether they would be permitted to do so.

"The Captain-General, O'Donnel, is an open abettor of the slave-trade, and a declared enemy of the English, who cut a very insignificant figure in the commercial community of Cuba. He treats our representative there with studied contempt, and evades, in the most barefaced manner the treaties which our commissioners are resident there to enforce. Yet they assured me, that previous to your Lordship's alteration of the sugar duties, the price of produce had been so low that the slave trade had almost died away, not more than one or two cargoes having been landed during the year 1845-46.

"In February last, the market value of field negroes had risen from \$300 to \$500,—a price which would speedily bring a supply from the coast. The accounts thence of the numbers of vessels captured, and of the still greater numbers seen and heard of, but not captured by our cruisers, bear ready witness to the stimulus which you have afforded to that accursed trade. It is only during the last year that we hear of steam-slavers, carrying 950 slaves, dipping their flag in derision to our men-of-war.

"I know nothing of what is going on in Porto Rico, my Lord, but there is every reason to suppose that the result of your measure has been the same there, and evidence arrives by every packet that the Brazilian slavers have enormously augmented of late in numbers and activity.

"As the Cubans dare not, for their own personal safety, increase the numerical quantity of their negroes beyond a certain limit, they have commenced importing Chinese immigrants, bound to the planters for seven years. These immigrants are transported to Cuba in *English vessels*, and the fate which awaits them there is not a very dubious one.

"If you are to look to these foreign planters for a future supply of cheap sugar, I ask you in the name of common sense, what excuse you will have for continuing the presence of our costly squadron on the coast of Africa—costly in seamen's lives as well as in money? Will it not be too flagrant an absurdity to pretend to wrest the tool from the hand of the cultivator on whom you depend for your supplies, and who cannot raise them without it?"

MAURITIUS.

We are indebted to the *Mauritius Mail* of the 11th of May for the following summary of information.

"The Council of the Island have been engaged in the consideration of the Report of the Immigration Committee. The report states that the members of the Committee were unanimous that the annual supply of 6,000 men should be obtained as speedily as possible from India, together with the number short sent last year, and that His Excellency the Governor should be requested to use every means in his power to expedite their introduction. On the subject of an increase on this number, the Committee were equally divided; that is, four were in favour of an introduction of 3,000, and the remaining four for 6,000 extra. The proposition of Mr. White, to procure men from Cochin, communicated in the despatch of Earl Grey, was waived by the Committee, as they did not think it worth while to send any one where they were afraid only a limited number of emigrants could be procured.

The arguments used by those members of the Council who were for limiting the number of immigrants to 3,000 extra for the year 1847 were, that it was essential to wait until the effect of the new ordinance on immigration about to be adopted could be seen before the number was augmented beyond this figure, as they were in hopes it would *oblige* many of the Indians to return to field labour, that the expenses would be increased without any surety of their being covered by the new immigration taxes, and that if the rate of wages should be much reduced, it would probably decide the large number of men, upwards of 20,000, who would finish their time to leave the colony. On the other hand it was answered by members whose experience enabled them to judge well on the matter, that the demand for labour was never so great, and that although last year's crop had been harvested in good time, scarcely any new plantations had been made; those already made had been neglected, and the crop of 1848-9 would be diminished in consequence; that the rate of wages had also advanced. The number was definitely fixed at 3,000, by 8 members for, and 6 against, the minority not considering this figure sufficient. On the 19th, the Council proceeded to the discussion of the new draft of Ordinance on Immigration. In some sensible observations sent to the Council by Mr. Dowland, the protector of immigrants, it was suggested, that instead of levying a tax on the Indian for his return passage, it would be better to let him pay the passage himself at the expiration of his five years' residence in the colony. The question was to be referred to the Governor of India; it is of the highest importance to the colony. Scarcely any changes were made in the Ordinance, which passed the Council after several days sitting. Several despatches from Earl Grey were read in Council; "some of them show," says the *Mail*, "that the secretary, for the colonies, is quite unacquainted with the facts he treats." His Lordship, in one of these despatches, reproaches the colony for a

want of attention to the emancipated population. He is, evidently, misled by reports, or a report [probably Sir William Gomm's], affirming that the blacks do not work on the estates, because they know the Indians are irregularly paid. Earl Grey further observes, "that the law should ensure prompt payment, with ample indemnity for any delay." The Committee expressed some surprise at this.

The planters of north and south Pamplemouise and Rivière du Rempart have again addressed Sir William Gomm, to assure him of their pressing want of labour, and to request him to suspend the Immigration regulations for a time, and to permit the planters to send instructions to their friends in India to recruit the supply of labourers in conjunction with the Government agents, to which His Excellency replied—"that he could not consent to suspend the regulations, but would assist them to his utmost, on condition that the labourers were introduced *with their wives and children in full proportion.*"

His Excellency congratulated the planters on the large crop before them, which, in the opinion of competent judges, he says, will range between 140 and 150 millions before the present period next year.

By the summary for May, taken from the *Mail*, we learn that the new orders on immigration had definitively passed the Council, by a majority of 12 against 2. The day of publication, the first Indians arrived this year, were distributed. There was much competition, notwithstanding the stamp-tax of £1 upon each.

Government have permitted engagements for any number of Indians to be made on a single sheet of paper instead of separate ones.

Decrease of Immigrants from 1st of January to 30th of April, 1847.

	Men.	Women.	Children.
Numbers left the Colony	830	57	4
Total deaths in four months	162	23	4
	992	80	8
Arrived in February	3	4	2
Total	989	76	6

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ON THE DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE IMMIGRANTS IN BRITISH GUIANA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

British Guiana, September 15th, 1847.

My DEAR SIR,—In order to enable you to estimate the working of the new slave-trade, under the name of Coolie Immigration, I send you the following, which appeared in the *Berbice Gazette*, a few days ago.

"Office of the Sheriff of Berbice, August 23, 1847.

"The following requisition to the Inspector of Police, is published for the information of all whom it may concern:

"The Sheriff having noticed a number of East India labourers begging, and committing other acts of vagrancy in the town of New Amsterdam, will feel obliged by the inspector of police giving orders for the ARREST of these people, in order to their being sent to this office, and dealt with according to law.

"By order of the Sheriff,

"HENRY W. HARDY, Clerk."

How many were taken up under this order I have not been able to ascertain, but am told the jail is full. Good people have been prohibited to visit that jail, even to distribute to the few prisoners that can read, the publications of the Religious Tract Society of London!

In connection with this notice I beg to draw your attention to an "Analysis of the Half-yearly Return of the General Asylum and Hospital, Berbice," which appeared in the *Congregational Record* of September 3, 1847.

Then look at the following, bearing date July 12, 1847. It will throw some light on the Sheriff's notice.

"Asylum and Hospital. The following Resolutions, passed by the Board of Church and Poor's fund of Berbice, are published for general information.

"That in consequence of the applicants to the General Asylum and Hospital, *being daily largely on the increase*, a Committee, to consist of T. B. Winter, Esq., and of Drs. Hollingsworth and Beresford, be appointed, for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting to this Board, the number of paupers and patients that institution is capable of receiving."

Read the following Report from the Committee; viz., *Memorandum of Accommodation in Berbice Colonial Hospital*. I will not go through the particulars, but give you the total:—

Lower Floor - - -	18 beds
Ward No. 1 - - -	43
No. 2 - - -	21
No. 3 - - -	43
No. 4 - - -	19

Being accommodation for 144 patients.

Alms Houses.

"Eight paupers' rooms, to contain four sleepers in each, or thirty-two paupers.

"Side building now being removed to a better site, have (has?) six chambers for nurses and attendants, or occasionally four paupers.

(Signed) "T. B. WINTER.

"A. R. HOLLINGSWORTH, M.D."

Then Dr. Beresford adds the following on his own responsibility, the other two gentlemen, doubtless, declining to unite with him.

"I am of opinion, that in case of emergency, the galleries of ward No. 1 might be made use of, whereby twenty more patients could be accommodated, and that mats or beds might be laid in the centre of wards Nos. 2 and 4, for four additional patients in each ward; but the foregoing allotment I consider proper and convenient, and such as the Hospital and Asylum should be restricted to under ordinary circumstances.

(Signed) "JOHN BERESFORD,

"Surgeon to General Asylum and Hospital."

Let us now turn to the Demerara Hospital. The *Guiana Times*, whose editor a little time ago was a rabid advocate of Coolie Immigration, in a leading article of the 13th instant, has the following:—

"We cannot leave this subject without directing attention to the fact, that the Hospital still continues crowded by the same class—immigrants, Coolies and Portuguese—the proportion of Creoles being so small as scarcely to deserve notice. Admitting, to the fullest extent, the benefits derived by estates from the introduction of these people, it comes a question for the public whether further immigration of the same kind should be sanctioned at all, even if government should succeed in passing the amended Rural Hospital Bill. It seems to us to be pretty certain, that with the introduction of more of these people the Hospital average is likely to be maintained. Taking this average at 450 for Georgetown, and 200 for Berbice, the DAILY expense, including Hospital staff, salaries of surgeons, medicines, &c., cannot be short of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS STERLING. We forget the sums voted for the two establishments, and the excess of expenditure in both over the vote of last year; but this year we are convinced the sum we have stated will not very far exceed the actual outlay. Supposing estates obtain the benefit of the labour of ten thousand effective immigrants, Coolies and Portuguese, it is at an expense to the common tax-payer, in provision for sickness alone of about a bit a day. We cry out about the necessity for cheap production. If we calculate the whole cost, we are afraid that we shall find that Coolies at £15 a head, with a back passage at our expense, is not the way to obtain it. We are as desirous as anybody to see the colony filled with labour; but we should like it of a less costly character, and one more suited to the climate. We cannot see the philosophy of importing people for the sole purpose of physicking them while they are here, and then sending them away just as this becomes unnecessary."

When a few independent and right-minded men two or three years ago urged against the Coolie scheme the very same objections, backed by the same calculations, this same man, then of the *Berbice Gazette*, laughed them to scorn, and called them all sorts of bad names.

The same paper, elsewhere, has the following:—

"Private advices inform us that £100,000 of our immigration bonds have been sold at £90 per £100; £50,000 to the Guiana Bank. The other £50,000 will, we suppose, have been taken up by what *Punch* calls the West India Colonies—Colville, Cavans, Cave, and Barkly."

These bonds, then, by the very men who urged the measure for their own gain, are actually bought at a discount of 10 per cent. In the discount alone on this transaction our plunderers quietly pocket £10,000! And this is Earl Grey's government of the Colonies of Great Britain!

I remain, dear sir,

Yours very faithfully,

A COLONIST.

THE LIBERTY PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The last two mails have furnished us with some stirring accounts of the operations of this highly important body, in reference to the coming elections. Conventions are being held in all directions, and important resolutions passed, preliminary to the meeting of the Great National Convention. We have only space to refer to one which was held at Worcester, Massachusetts, on the 1st of September last. The Hon. Wm. Jackson was chosen President, and a highly efficient committee was elected. We give the purport of the opening address of the President, who was called to occupy the chair, as it will unfold the operations and prospects of the Liberty party. After some preliminary observations, he observed:—

"There is a great mistake among us in Boston and vicinity; the leading Whig and Democratic papers, and many of the most intelligent members of these powerful parties, have been felicitating themselves with an idea that the Liberty party were dividing—breaking up—dying—dead; but on coming into the 'heart' of the Commonwealth this morning, and looking around at this early hour upon this great and very respectable

assembly, from all parts of our State, we can all behold evidence of a most wonderful pulsation, surely, for a dead or dying body.

"Where can these political wiseacres have been looking, to have discovered such self-satisfying evidences of a consummation, for which neither their over-working, praying, fibbing, or forgeries have heretofore done so little? True, there has been no time these six years when these political partizans have not apparently succeeded most perfectly in demonstrating to themselves that the Liberty party was 'dying away.' Nor, strange to say, has there been a year, during that time, passing over our heads, when one or the other, or both these parties have not, by their professions and solemn and oft-recorded resolutions, most fully approved and sanctioned our principles. Dying away! No, gentlemen, your numbers are multiplying every day. The conscience and common sense of the country of all parties are with you. Your principles are spreading wider and wider every day: not only north, but south of Mason and Dixon's line, and they everywhere commend themselves to the best feelings of the human heart. And not only so, your rule of action is coming to be better understood, and commanding for itself respect even from your bitterest opponents. The potency of the ballot-box, as an instrumentality for good as well as evil, is becoming more and more apparent every day to everybody.

"The two great leading political parties have been constantly acting and shaping their measures with reference to the Liberty party, for a series of years. They *know* that this party is based upon the eternal foundation of truth; that truth is mighty, and some time or other it is destined to prevail. Not only have you every year since our organization had coaxing resolutions, from one party or the other, and sometimes both, the tenor of which has all along shown our rapid progress, but, within a few days, we have had something like a State paper put forth even from South Carolina, signed by thirty or forty of her most talented and influential statesmen, who say, that the Liberty party are holding the destiny of the country in its hands, and, small as it is, controls the political affairs of the nation. [A voice from the crowd, 'and they add, by adhering to principle.'] By adhering to principle! I thank the gentleman for his correction. If the Liberty party, by a rigid adherence to their God-given principles, has so much influence and such a control of the destinies of the country, have they any *right* to disband? Is it worth while, think you, under circumstances like these, to 'give up the ship?' Our party reaches to, and is full of life and activity, in every free State and county in the Union. Aye, and it has crossed Mason and Dixon's line, too. We have now established at Washington, the seat of the beast, a very able and very independent Liberty paper, acknowledged to be so by our soundest statesmen of both political parties, on both sides of the black line. We *are* seeing, blessed be God, we *are* seeing, *now*, the fruit of that seed, which some of us were sowing, and sowing in doubt, six years ago; and, as sure as you live, gentlemen, you have now the promise, sure and certain promise, of a harvest worth reaping. Let us hold out and hold on until this noble harvest is fully garnered."

On a motion being voted to proceed to choose Delegates at large to the National Convention, Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT, and Hon. WILLIAM JACKSON were chosen.

Mr. Leavitt, from the Business Committee, then reported the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the holders of slaves, by means of a common bond of interest, and a common and constant unity of purpose, and by a steadfast union in political action, have acquired an unjust control of the national government; have obtained its power and influence in its various departments, executive, legislative, diplomatic, and judicial, involving necessarily the control of the army, navy, and treasury. That, through their influence, the constitution has been misinterpreted; resort to the federal tribunals for redress has been forcibly prevented; the writ of *habeas corpus* and right of trial by jury has been invaded; freedom of speech has been suppressed; an odious censorship of the press has been established; men, for their opinions, have been proscribed; and our churches and religious bodies, and even our fireside opinions, have been subjected to its dictation.

Resolved, That this uniformity and unity of action, on the part of the holders of slaves, can only be met by a corresponding unity and steadfastness on the part of the friends of liberty; and, therefore, the way to accomplish the ends of the Liberty party is, to establish as its fundamental maxim,—*No voting for slaveholders, nor for those who will support them for office.*

Resolved, That, in the acquisition of new territory, or in the erection of States in that now belonging to the United States, it ought to be established, as a fundamental law thereof, that slavery, or involuntary servitude, except for crime, shall never be permitted therein.

Resolved, That the act of 1793, which authorizes the seizure of slaves escaping from the States in which they are held, to other States, ought to be repealed.

Resolved, That Congress ought to prohibit the courts of the United States from taking cognizance of any contract founded on a recognition

of human beings as property, thus abolishing, so far as such prohibition will do it, the inter-State slave-trade.

Resolved, That the Liberty party, relying upon the soundness of its principles, and confident of ultimate, though it may be distant, success, will steadily and patiently persevere in its course, and welcome to its ranks all, of whatever name, who are resolved to make "*Liberty first and paramount.*"

Resolved, That as it is more than twenty years since any son of New England has been nominated for the Presidency by any National Convention, we take the liberty, with all respect, to suggest this fact to the Buffalo Convention, and to ask that the candidates who may be presented by New England be favourably regarded in making their selection.

Resolved, That, as the friends of liberty, we highly honour the name of John P. Hale, a son of New Hampshire, and a grandson of Massachusetts, for the boldness and integrity with which he threw himself into the cause, by opposing the annexation of Texas; for the fidelity and success with which he has led freedom's host in his own State; for his eloquent efforts to open the eyes of the people to the evils of slavery, and the duty of resisting the slave power by *independent* political action; and that we recognise the identity of his principles and position with our own.

Resolved, That the eagerness of the Whigs in some parts of the country to abandon the Wilmot proviso, with the delusive hope of pledging the party to the cry of *no more territory*, which the Whig party never will dare to make its issue before the country—and the probable burial of all resolute support of that proviso in the democratic party in the grave of Silas Wright—is a warning to the people of the north against committing the opposition to slavery to the fate of a man, instead of the organization of a party, and a proof that there is no anti-slavery position on which men or masses can stand firm but that of the Liberty party.

Resolved, That the recent appeal from the leading politicians of South Carolina for the establishment of a paper at Washington, to support slavery, "*irrespective of party politics,*" on account of "*the rapid progress of the anti-slavery spirit, and the alarming influence it has exerted on the politics of the country,*" is a conclusive attestation to the power of the Liberty party. These thirty-seven distinguished Carolinians, comprising the most honoured names in the history of the State, thus reason:

"How have the Abolitionists, so inconsiderable in numbers, and themselves without official station, effected so much? The answer is obvious. They have *adhered to principle.* They have made it paramount to party organization and temporary policy, and they have thus held the *balance of power* between the two great parties. They have on this account been courted alternately, and together, by Whig and Democrat, until it has come about that no politician, on either side, is considered as '*available,*' who cannot enlist in his behalf this necessary vote; and they are actually at this moment controlling the destinies of this great confederacy! Shall we not profit by their example?"

With this proof of the power the Liberty party has gained, and the certainty of its ultimate success, with the sure means thereof,—"*ADHERENCE TO PRINCIPLE,*"—as *paramount to party organization*—we will regard any attempt, from whatever quarter, to draw or drive us away from our well-known principle, as an attempt to render us traitors to the cause which we have espoused, and will treat it accordingly.

Resolved, That the recent sale of two women at Washington, under the laws of the United States, is an outrage, for which, both the old parties ought to be held fully responsible, inasmuch as neither of them, when in power, ever made one earnest effort to abolish such an infamous statute—that no disapproval by individuals, or newspapers at home can exonerate them from this blame, while they vote for the men who do nothing—and that this flagrant occurrence calls for a united and determined effort to compel the government of the United States to follow the example of the Bey of Tunis, who abolished the traffic in human beings—"for the glory of mankind and to distinguish them from the brute creation."

Resolved, That there ought to be a universal petitioning to Congress to abolish the buying and selling of slaves in the district of Columbia.

The resolutions of the business Committee were then taken up after remarks by Messrs. Cummings, Marsh, and Barbour. RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED.

THE STATES.

VERMONT.

We have returns sufficient to show that we have held our own. This we deem a great victory at the present time.

We are greatly encouraged. The Liberty men of Vermont have maintained their integrity. The Whig vote has fallen off more than two thousand—the democratic vote stands about the same as last year.

Last year the Liberty party had twelve representatives, this year we have already heard of TWENTY-THREE. This looks well.

MAINE.

The Liberty men have done better than either of the other parties, though they have not increased their number. The *Liberty Standard*, in speaking of the election, says:—

"It was one of the most remarkable ever witnessed in this state. From

somewhat extensive means of judging, we consider our real increase of Liberty men to be between 2,000 and 3,000. We have never done a better year's work, and the cause was never in a better position to advance powerfully during the ensuing year. We are "bound to go a-head." Our relative strength this year will be greater than at any former election.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Convention on the 30th, at Concord, will be an enthusiastic one. The editor of the *Democratic and Freeman* says:—

"We trust our friends in all the towns will take early measures to see that they are represented in the Convention. It is important that we have a general rally. Let large delegations come in from every section of the state. From many parts we already have assurances that the friends of liberty and good government will be here in full numbers. A better spirit than now prevails among the opponents of slavery and of the radical slavery party in New Hampshire, never existed."

PENNSYLVANIA.

The Liberty men are making preparations for the National Convention.

CONNECTICUT.

The *Charter Oak* is strongly in favour of John P. Hale for the presidency, and this undoubtedly is the voice of the Liberty party of Connecticut as well as every other free state in the Union. The editor makes the following declaration:—

"In view of all existing circumstances, we unhesitatingly declare our present preference for John P. Hale, as the presidential candidate of the Liberty party, and we earnestly hope that he may receive the nomination of the Buffalo Convention. His position, as the successful leader of the great political resolution which has wrested New Hampshire from the grasp of the slave power, and as a member of the United States senate, must give him a great advantage over any other candidate whom we could bring into the field. He is no obscure man—nor one who is known only to the Abolitionist. The nation has heard of John P. Hale. His name is as familiar to the masses as a household word,—and while the minions of the slave power couple it with curses, the friends of Liberty speak it with blessings."

NEW YORK.

The Liberty Convention in Oneida county was much larger than many previous meetings. Eighteen towns represented, and the unanimity highly encouraging. The press says:—

"The Liberty party of Oneida is a 'fixed fact,' and will not be turned aside by pretenders to anti-slavery on the one hand, or the erroneous leadings of 'Leagues,' or leaguers on the other. So full and satisfactory a guarantee we have not seen for a long time as that at Hampton last week."

"It will be seen that Alvan Stewart is our delegate to the National Convention. The thoughts of the meeting unanimously turned upon him as eminently qualified for the post, and entitled to the distinction which his old friends have conferred upon him."

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

"It is now but about three weeks," says the *Liberty Standard* of September, "before this august body is to assemble, charged with the country's liberty, and the rights of three millions of its oppressed poor! Not more solemn and vast were the responsibilities of the Congress of 1775. The whole Liberty party should feel, and it is to be hoped does feel, the moral pressure of that great occasion; and those who go up to it should go with deep and serious impressions."

"The one great object for which the cause was undertaken—for which the convention is called, will not be lost sight of, and the single question of its promotion will fill every mind, and control the entire action of the body. The particular object for which the delegates generally will be instructed to go there, is to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States for the Liberty party, not for Whigs, Democrats, or the Macedonian League, but for the Liberty party, on its well-known principles, and to take all possible measures calculated to sustain such nominations. Still the greatest courtesy and respect will doubtless be shown to those who entertain other than the ordinary views on various collateral topics, should they be introduced."

"We anticipate great pleasure in meeting the toil-worn labourers in freedom's periled cause from all parts of thirteen or more States of the Union. We want to take our western friends by the hand, as well as others, in one warm fraternal grip. This alone will be worth the cost of going to Buffalo."

"As to men, we could name half a dozen or more, who are well worthy, and would do honour to the nomination. Our first choice is Gen. Fessenden, but this we are prepared to waive. Indeed, we know of no man whose nomination on the whole is likely to be so useful to the cause as that of *John P. Hale*. We would go as far to conciliate anti-slavery men now in the old parties, and out of them, as possible, without in the least degree endangering the integrity of our cause. To that extent we would be magnanimous and liberal—more, an honest abolitionist cannot ask. And we have confidence in the integrity of Mr. Hale. His prin-

ciples are the principles of the Liberty party, and his measures are its measures. Of this we are satisfied. Besides other evidence, he has abandoned his party with the almost certain prospect of political death, and had the clearness of perception and integrity of heart to keep himself out of the embraces of the other, while all the attractions of Boston whig aristocracy were thrown around him. He and his party in New Hampshire have dissolved their organization, and coalesced with the Liberty party in that State. We feared he might stop on the fallacious ground of the Proviso, but that fear is removed. He is with us, and by his position he can do more for us than any other man. An immense advantage lies in the fact that he is known all over the country. With a first-rate western man on the ticket with him, it is scarcely possible that it should fail to receive the warm support of every free man in the country."

THE FREE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This energetic and most useful auxiliary to the Anti-slavery cause was instituted by members of the Free Church of Scotland, for the purpose of diffusing information on matters relating to the controversy which has sprung up in that Church in relation to American slavery, and the great question whether slaveholders should be received to its communion.

It is well known that the General Assembly of the Free Church, led on by Dr. Candlish and Dr. Cunningham, whilst it denounces slavery as an enormous crime, has expressed its conviction, that slave-holding, under all the aspects in which it exists in America, is not sinful, and that, therefore, it welcomes to fraternal intercourse, the Presbyterian Churches of that country, without discriminating whether they be pro-slavery or not in their character. All that the General Assembly, therefore, has felt itself called upon to do, is to address certain "Deliverances" to the American Churches, couched in general terms against slavery, with exhortations to rid themselves of the evil.

Dr. Cunningham, the head of the late deputation of the Free Church to the American Churches, has grown perfectly rabid in their defence, and in condemnation of all those who question their purity. But it is evident to every sober looker-on, that the position which he has taken is not a perfectly satisfactory one to his own mind. With all his bluster and dogmatism; with all this noisy declamation and affected contempt of those who venture to differ from him, we have no doubt that there are moments when his better judgment disapproves of the course he has pursued; and that certain twinges of conscience admonish him, that, after all, he may be wrong. But Dr. Cunningham has committed himself to the position, that, so far from slaveholding being wrong, it may be justified from the sacred Scriptures, and that it can be proved that slaveholders were admitted to the fellowship of the apostolic Churches. Whether there be many in the Free Church who go this length we know not; but we regret to say, that the General Assembly, as a body, vindicate the course pursued by Dr. Cunningham, and his companions in the United States: vindicate the reception of the money contributed by slaveholders to sustain the movements of the Free Church; and vindicate fellowship with the southern American Churches, notwithstanding their acknowledged connexion with the system of slavery. Dr. Candlish throws the weight of his ability, influence, and position into the same scale, and these two divines direct and control the decisions of the great mass of their brethren.

There are, however, a few men in the Free Church, and these, with an earnestness which bespeaks their sincerity, and an intelligence which cannot fail to command attention, have formed themselves into a Society, whose object is, "by public lectures and meetings, by circulation of authentic documents, and by correspondence with brethren of their own, and other Churches, to impress on the public mind, 1st, The sin and danger of admitting slaveholders to the communion of Christian Churches. 2nd, The duty of relinquishing Christian fellowship with slave-holding Churches. 3rd, The necessity of aiding generally the cause of the immediate emancipation of the slave."

The Society was established in September, 1846, since which it has acted with great vigour, and, we have no doubt, with great success. Among the documents which it has already issued, are the following:—

1. An Address to the Office-bearers and Members of the Free Church of Scotland, on her present connexion with the slaveholding Churches of America.
2. The deliverance of the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, May, 1845; with a letter to the Rev. Henry Grey.
3. Slavery forbidden by the word of God; a Lecture by the Rev. David Young, D.D., Perth.
4. Slavery supported by the American Churches, and countenanced by the recent proceedings in the Free Church of Scotland. A Lecture by the Rev. Isaac Nelson, Belfast.
5. The pro-slavery character of the American Churches, and the sin of holding communion with them. A lecture by the Rev. George Jeffray.
6. The Debasing and Demoralizing Influence of Slavery and everything connected with it. By G. Gilfillan, Dundee.
7. Slavery Indefensible, showing that the relation of Slave and Slaveholder has no foundation, either in the law of nature or of Christianity, with Remarks on Communion with Slaveholding Churches. By the Rev. Michael Willis, D.D.,

Glasgow. 8. A Letter to the Rev. William Cunningham, D.D., on the Question regarding Communion with Slaveholding Churches. And 9. An Address to the Office-Bearers and Members of the Free Church of Scotland. From the Committee of the Free Church Anti-Slavery Society.

It was not to be supposed that a Society which laid bare the inconsistency, and exposed the fallacies of the leaders of the Free Church, would be allowed to pass unquestioned. We, therefore, find that an attack was made upon its members during the proceedings of the last General Assembly, which was alike wanting in dignity and truth. Moreover, the columns of the *Witness*, the organ of the Free Church, have been freely used, to vituperate the worthy men who are conscientiously labouring to preserve the purity of Christian communion from the contaminating effect of slavery, whilst they have been shut to their defence. Bad measures require bad means to support them.

Nothing daunted by the assaults which have been made against them, the Free Church Anti-Slavery Society have just issued an admirable tract, entitled, "Strictures on the Proceedings of the last General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, regarding Communion with the Slaveholding Churches of America, respectively addressed to the Office-Bearers and Members of that Church."

In this production, the Society fully vindicate themselves from "the grievous misrepresentations of their principles and proceedings," and "the manifold slanderings of numerous traducers."

The first parties who come in for their "Strictures," are "The Free Church Journals." These are convicted of misrepresentation and injustice. These guides of public opinion have taken every precaution to prevent their readers from knowing anything about the true aims of the Free Church Anti-Slavery Society. They have substituted falsehood for fact, and ridicule for argument; but the greatest offender in this line of things is the *Witness*. After having exhausted the arts of misrepresentation, and poured forth its aspersions on some of the members of the Society, it brings against them the charge of hostility to the Free Church. The reply to this absurd charge may be found in the fact, that none but members of the Free Church are, or can be, members of the Society. They say, "We are as good Free Churchmen in point of principle as the *Witness*. We will not, it is true, desert a cause which we believe to be that of God, for the sake of the Free Church; and we will not betray the interests of humanity for the Free Church;" but, "we cordially profess, and believe, and love her principles, and, in our stations and callings, we will endeavour so to live as to commend them." The injustice of the *Witness* in admitting a letter of Dr. Cunningham, impugning the veracity of the Rev. Isaac Nelson, and refusing to insert a reply, on the ground that its columns had been closed on the question, is most properly condemned, especially when the fact was directly in the teeth of the assertion, "The want of truth and honour in these assaults, incline us to believe that they cannot be the work of the respectable individual who acts as assistant editor of the *Witness*: and we are forbidden alike by their cowardice and their weakness, to suppose that they emanate from the Editor himself."

The "Strictures" pass from the Journals to the two great leaders of the Free Church, Drs. Candlish and Cunningham. Both of these gentlemen denounced the Society, in the presence of the late General Assembly, as "Enemies of the Free Church."

"I may be allowed also to say," says Dr. Candlish, "that it is a matter of thankfulness that the proceedings which have been taken against the Free Church of Scotland, have been so unsuccessful, for I say that these proceedings, whatever may be the intention of those who adopt them—whatever may be the avowed purpose, and whatever the real intention, are in point of fact, simply proceedings against the Free Church."

The reply to this accusation is simply, that it is "utterly false." "We have thanked God for the glorious cause which our Church has been honoured to espouse, and for the noble stand which she has been strengthened to make, and for that magnanimous sacrifice of all for truth, which has been the admiration of the world—we have thanked God, in the very depths of our spirits, for these things, and we would rather that our right hand should forget its cunning, or our tongues cleave to the roof of our mouth, than that we should feel towards her one malevolent emotion, or utter a single word dictated by mere hostility, or perform a single act, that in the sight of God could be regarded as 'simply proceedings against the Free Church.' But just because we love the Free Church, are we grieved and pained to see her fair fame sullied by this equivocal and degrading, and in our estimation, criminal connexion, with the slave-holding churches of America. As we view the matter, the worst enemies of the Free Church are those who are most industrious in palliating the sin into which she has fallen, and most ingenious in pleading for the continuance of this criminal connexion."

Dr. Cunningham, however, goes further than his reverend brother. He will have it, that the Society is a device of the devil. Failing in argument, he says:—

"I have no doubt it was an ingenious device of Satan—a device of Satan, not, however, so ingenious at its first concoction, because, in the form in which it came before the community of this country—with the Garrisons, the Wrights, the Buffums, the George Thompsons, and the Douglasses—with that class of persons, the character which they exhibited, and the spirit which they manifested, I think Satan entirely outwitted himself. These men disgusted the Christian people of this country;

they made perfectly manifest their character, their spirit, and their principles; and thereby Satan's device, to a large extent, failed of success. I confess I have some fears and apprehension, that the establishment of the Free Church Anti-Slavery Society, and the labours which they have been carrying on,—although, no doubt, there are some pious persons concerned in it, is just a device of Satan, to repair his former blunder, and to get this agitation carried on under more respectable countenance."

These remarks were received by the General Assembly with shouts of laughter and cheers. Of course a reply to such an insinuation was unnecessary; and, therefore, whilst administering a rebuke to this "Court of Christ" for its levity, the "Strictures" add—

"It will at least do no injury to Dr. Cunningham's logic, and it may tend to the refinement of his rhetoric, to be sparing in arguments, the premises of which are drawn from such quarters. When men bandy the name of the wicked one too freely with one another, it seldom tends either to improve their civility, or to increase their religion; and even in the mouth of a Reverend Professor, there are many weak persons who will mistake the frequent use of this kind of language, for a species of small swearing. Besides, we are living under the benign influence of the Evangelical Alliance, from whose members all wrath, and bitterness, and irritating language are to be put away; among whom nothing is to be heard but the softest cadences of language, giving utterance to the sweetest sentiments of affection; and who are especially to be models to the whole earth, of the manner in which controversy ought to be carried on among Christian men. Now, as Dr. Cunningham is one of these model men, if he, in controversy, is heard denouncing his opponents, as emissaries of the devil, it is to be feared that many persons may be so blind, as not to see what benefit it will be, either to the morals or to the manners of society, to cease to use earthly materials of abuse, if we begin to bring them from beneath."

Here we must stop. We purpose, in our next, to return to this important subject.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—A NATIONAL CONVENTION.—"A National Convention of Coloured Americans and their Friends," is about to be held in New York. The Committee say:—

"The object of the meeting will be to form a united phalanx in opposition to the dangerous and increasing aggressions of slavery; to recommend and encourage education; to urge the necessity of acquiring property, as a means of destroying prejudice, and of elevating the character of the coloured people to a high and honourable position in society; to recommend emigration and colonization, not to Africa, Asia, or Europe, but from crowded cities and servile employments, to the manly and dignified labours of agricultural life; to promote the principles of temperance and frugality, and to attend to all other business that will advance the interests of our oppressed fellow-citizens."

THE VOICE OF THE SOUTH.—We quote from the *Mobile Herald* the great argument of the Slave Power against the doctrine, No More Territory. At the North, the servile papers would deceive the people; at the South, politicians have not the same occasion for trickery:—

"In all the slave States," says the *Mobile Herald*, "bordering on the free States, there is a growing indifference to the institution of slavery. This results from a variety of reasons. The land in those States, under the system of agriculture prevailing in the South, is becoming exhausted, and there is every inducement for the planters there to move further south. Slave property in those States is insecure, because of the enticements for slaves to make their escape into free territory. This keeps the planter constantly uneasy and insecure in his possessions. Delaware is about to abolish slavery, Kentucky is growing ripe for a similar movement, and, in Western Virginia, as we saw by our exchanges yesterday, proposals have been published for the printing of an Anti-Slavery paper. These things point inevitably to the time when those States will be free States; and we imagine that, when that shall have been consummated, Tennessee and North Carolina will soon follow in the same path. The result will be, that slavery will come down further South. The natural tendency of the slaves under our humane policy, is to increase. The effect follows, that if we have no outlet for them, no soil to put them in, they will be huddled within the extreme Southern limits of the Union, and two consequences may follow. By their numbers and the temptations of Abolitionism, they will be rendered insubordinate, and the result be too terrible for contemplation; or their excess may make them profitless, and those who own them be obliged to set them free voluntarily, or to submit to any plan for the purpose which may be proposed by the Government."

"These evils may be avoided by taking new territory adapted to slave labour, or, indeed, by taking any kind of territory in the direction of Mexico. The profitable existence of slavery is by no means incompatible with a more temperate region, but is incompatible with a very dense population. We need plenty of soil to render it valuable."

"These are the more obvious reflections which occur, in thinking of this subject. A hundred inferior ones might be suggested, and, indeed, volumes of the most momentous matter might be written on it. Our object, however, is, within our usual brief limits for an article, to suggest, with as few words as possible, something which every Southern reader,

and, indeed, every patriotic man in the Union, should seriously ponder on."

The "something" which "every patriotic man in the Union" is hereby called upon seriously to ponder, is, the necessity of taking territory from Mexico by force, for the purpose of extending, and thus perpetuating, Negro Slavery and Slave Representation! The atrocity of the argument sets all comment at defiance.

RESULT OF SLAVERY.—The *St. Louis Republic* gives an account of the death of a young slave in consequence of cruel treatment. Some of our exchanges wonder that the matter is not investigated. They don't seem to know that the slave has no redress for wrongs inflicted—that the whole system of slavery is a system of cruelty, and that the laws which sustain it authorize the taking of life even to secure obedience.

"On Friday last the coroner held an inquest, at the house of Judge Dunica, a few miles south of the city, over the body of a negro girl, about eight years of age, belonging to Mr. Cordell. The body exhibited evidence of the most cruel whipping and beating we ever heard of. The flesh on the back and limbs was beaten to a jelly—one shoulder bone was laid bare—there were several cuts, apparently from a club, on the head—and around the neck was the indentation of a cord, by which it was supposed she had been confined to a tree. She had been hired by a man by the name of Tanner, residing in the neighbourhood, and was sent home in this condition. After coming home, her constant request, until her death, was for bread, by which it would seem that she had been starved as well as unmercifully whipped. The jury returned a verdict that she came to her death by blows inflicted by some person unknown, while she was in the employ of Mr. Tanner."

AN IMPORTANT ARRIVAL.—The schooner *T. H. Thompson* arrived at this port last Wednesday, from Richmond, Va., with sixty-six emancipated slaves. They were formerly claimed as the property of a Mr. Edlow, of Prince George's county, who died about four years ago, leaving them free, and providing that, if they pleased, they might remain on the plantation until they earned fifty dollars each.

They worked four years, and received only 14,80 dollars each—the balance was taken for support, &c. We understand that a lawyer, whom they employed to act for them, charged the enormous sum of 150 dollars for services, which, a gentleman says, were not worth more than five dollars. Thus they were cheated out of their earnings. They at last determined to remain no longer, and notwithstanding the frightful stories of the managers, that they would be sold into slavery if they came to the North, they all embarked with what little baggage they had, on board the schooner, for a free land.

The captain, whose name is Wickson, is a generous-hearted son of Cape Cod, and deserves the thanks of the benevolent for his kindness to them. He speaks in the highest terms of their conduct on board the vessel, and their great love for each other. He says there was no difficulty among them. We noticed the old grandmother, who had almost worn herself out in the service of slavery. She had the most comfortable seat on the deck of the vessel, where, like all other grandmothers, she was ready to point out her children and grandchildren, and tell of their good qualities. They will soon obtain situations as carpenters, blacksmiths, farmers, &c.

Hundreds congregated around the vessel to see those whom they had for so many years voted slaves. And many for the first time expressed their abhorrence of the whole system, and resolved to act no longer with parties pledged to sustain it.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, held on the 22nd of September, a despatch was laid on the table enclosing a copy of a despatch from Earl Grey, in reply to the memorial of the Chamber with respect to African immigration. The despatch stated that, with regard to the adoption of measures to promote emigration from the coast of Africa to Jamaica, the measures taken had been purely experimental; and it was for the advantage of all the colonies that the experiment should be made, by confining the operations to the nearest colonies. With regard to the suggestion that government should permit an unrestricted resort to any part of the African coast to procure emigrants by the redemption of captives or otherwise, the government did not adopt the views taken by the memorialists, as the existence of interested motives for producing Africans on the coast had always been a provocation to war and outrage in the interior; and no benefits to be conferred on the persons released could justify a manner of proceeding tending to bring others into captivity, and to do so through those barbarous courses by which such purposes are effected in Africa.—It was resolved, on reading the despatch, that an extract from the memorial of the Chamber, and the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, should be forwarded to Mr. Turnbull, and that he be requested to furnish the Chamber with any evidence in his possession, which might enable them to support the statements contained in their

memorial with respect to British subjects detained as slaves in the Island of Cuba.

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.—Her Majesty's steamer *Growler*, commander Potbury, sailed for the coast of Africa on Saturday evening. This vessel arrived at Demerara on the 10th ultimo, with the complement of four hundred and sixty-three liberated Africans, imported from Sierra Leone, under the auspices of the British Government. Having landed these people and taken on board such Kroomen and other African labourers as claimed their return passage to the coast, the *Growler* proceeded to Trinidad, and there also embarked a number of Africans desirous of returning to their country. She came up here for provisions, and sailed, we understand, with, altogether, more than one hundred and sixty passengers. On being questioned there, they expressed their intention of settling in their own country, as most of them had saved money. They do not, from the manner in which they answered the queries put to them by some of the gentlemen who went on board, give much hope of an extensive emigration from Africa to these colonies.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION.—Public opinion seems to have set in with a strong tide against Coolie Immigration. We scarcely take up a paper without finding a fact or an argument against it. Even those journals that have hitherto been favourably disposed towards it, and claiming for it a fair trial, are now coming round to the side of its opponents. The fault is said to be in the Coolies themselves—they are by nature unfitted for labourers in these colonies. A correspondent, quoted by the *Cornwall Chronicle*, says, "they are not doing well anywhere (as far as he could learn), almost every overseer and bookkeeper living on the estates upon which they are located has either been assaulted or threatened with a good beating by them. They appear," he adds, "to be a mischievous set of idle vagabonds." Another correspondent, quoted in the same paper, says, "they seem to be of different blood, spirit, and nerve to all other people, and indicate much of the *Thug* in their temperament."

BRITISH GUIANA.—We clip the following from the *Royal Gazette*, of the 18th September:—

"The planters are unusually busy. The crop is being rapidly taken off in all districts of the colony, and activity and bustle reign in and around the buildings of estates. Good judges calculate, that the colony will export this year about 50,000 hogsheads of sugar, a larger crop than has ever been made since emancipation.

"About 500 immigrants from Madeira had arrived in the colony during the fortnight. The subject of legislative reform still occupied public attention. A numerous and respectfully signed petition to her Majesty had been forwarded, praying for a more popular form of government."

NEW TAX ORDINANCE.—The following incident is an illustration of the working of this obnoxious act:—

"A case of cordials and a box of cigars were purchased at the store of Mr. Flatau, and to oblige his customer, Mr. F. called his own house servant to carry them home. A few steps from the door, the man was seized by a policeman for an infringement of the tax ordinance, acting as a porter, as this official said, without a badge and licence. In violation of every principle of justice, the policeman hurried the man and his burden to jail, where he will be locked up as a felon, till to-morrow morning. We are informed that this is not a singular case: that a Portuguese, acting as his own porter, carrying home a firkin of butter he had purchased, was seized under the same pretext. These proceedings are so monstrous as to be scarcely credible, but their truth is indisputable."—*Times*, Oct. 8.

The *Times* of the 10th instant states, in reference to the Inspector-General's certificate, as to the seizures in the market, that it does not "think him capable either of concealing or perverting the truth." The said certificate, however, observes the *Times*, "states distinctly that no seizure whatever had ever been made by the policeman within the market," after which, among other information, the *Times* adds, "Gerome Gordon, possessed of a license issued to Komsi Klass, or bearer, had sixteen bunches plantains, seized in the market on the 7th August, and never returned. Another had twenty bunches plantains, the produce of his own ground, taken from him on the 7th of August, after paying the market fees. Another, who showed his license, had his plantains seized—afterwards returned under plea of 'seized by mistake,' but not till deteriorated in value to the extent of six dollars. And another, who had paid the market fees, had three casks of fish seized, one of which was sold by a policeman, without form of adjudication. And more than this, the clerk of the market was fined, and the market officer, for interfering with the police seizures."

TRINIDAD.—We quote the following produce report from the *Spectator*:—

"During the fortnight subsequent to our last statement, there has been a pretty fair quantity of produce shipped to the different ports of Britain from this island. Of sugar, there has been upwards of 1,200 hogsheads, besides a small cargo to America. The exports entered up to a late hour to-day are the following:—Sugar, 24,853 hogsheads, 1,838 tierces, 5,676 barrels; molasses, 9,903 hogsheads, 341 tierces; rum, 389 puncheons; cocoa, 28,406 cwt. 1 qr. 11 lb.; coffee, 915 cwt. 2 qr. 5 lb.;

cotton, 41 serous. Six British vessels have arrived in the same period; four with general cargoes from Britain, and two in ballast from Demerara, so that we suppose lack of shipping here can hardly now be complained of."

In this island, as in Jamaica, the Coolie immigration bubble has burst. While speaking of immigrants, says the *Standard*, "we would observe, with regard to the Coolies, for whose introduction the colony has to pay a most costly price, that while many of them continue to afford their employers satisfaction and are steadily working on the estates, very many of them are, on the contrary, most unsatisfactory; having given themselves up to their former habits of indolence and mendicancy, which their necessities as well as their natural dispositions seemed to have created and fostered in their native countries. The streets of our towns and the public roads throughout the island present objects of squalidness and misery, we would not say pitiable to behold, but repulsive and disgusting in the extreme, when it is known that the condition of these miserable beings is not owing to any local circumstances of an unavoidable nature, but to their own inveterate indolence and apathy, there being, so far as we are informed, employment sufficient for all requiring employment."

BARBADOES.—The following is the quantity of produce shipped to the 6th of September:—

Sugar 31,108 hhds. 1,686 tierces, 2,028½ barrels.

Molasses 4,779 puns. 238 hhds. 43 bris.

Arrowroot, 644 packages; ginger, 334 packages; cotton, 346 bales; aloes, 559 gourds.

ST. LUCIA.—The *Palladium* says:—But for the consequences of the opening given in the home market to sugar, the cheap production of slave-labour, the result of the crop in St. Lucia would be a subject of congratulation with the planters. So far as quantity and quality goes, there is nothing to cause dissatisfaction. The whole crop had not been shipped; but up to date the exports upon which duty has been paid numbered 7,600,985lbs. sugar. The quantity of sugar already shipped (though not the whole of the crop) showed an excess amounting to 2,103,560lbs. over the entire crop of 1846, and exceeded the average of the last sixteen years by about two millions of pounds weight. The weather continued to favour the work of the plantations. Cultivation had been extended, and the canes generally were thriving well.

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—"Since our last," wrote the Editor of the *Gazette* on the 27th ult., "the weather has continued most propitious for the planters—fine rains have fallen every day, and we are informed that the country generally (with the exception of St. John's parish) looks favourable, and promises a fair crop for the ensuing year. The quantity of produce exported for the quarter, ending 10th October last, to the present date, is as follows:—6,737 hogsheads, 364 tierces, 3,503 barrels sugar; 2,582 puncheons, 30 hogsheads, 17 tierces, 19 tanks, 46 barrels Molasses; 1,135 puncheons, 47 hogsheads, 21 quarter casks, Rum."

Miscellanea.

THE SLAVE COAST.—Our private intelligence from the west coast of Africa squadron reaches to the 31st of August, when, with the exception of some slight cases of fever in the *Kingfisher* and *Wanderer*, the squadron employed in the suppression of the slave-trade were perfectly healthy. The sickly season had, however, set in at Sierra Leone, and the officers and crews sent up there in prizes had suffered from fever. Mr. Gross, a master's assistant of the *Water Witch*, having fallen a victim to it. Lieutenants Wilmshurst, of the *Albatross*, and Swinburne, of the *Wanderer*, had recently taken up full slavers there, and were waiting to condemn them. The shores of the Bights of Benin were beginning again to resume their notoriety for slave dealing. Since the date of our last intelligence, when the trade was comparatively dormant, a fine schooner, stated to have been once an American man-of-war, has been captured by the *Albatross*, with 608 slaves on board, 108 of whom she lost on her passage to Sierra Leone; a notorious slaver, the *Brazillians*, a brig of 200 tons, and two schooners, all empty, however, have become the prizes of the *Hound*, and a large felucca, captured by the *Devastation* in company with the *Albatross*, but afterwards burnt by these vessels in consequence of her mainmast having been shot away, have all been taken in the Bights. To the southward the trade is stated to be also brisk; the hitherto unfortunate *Wanderer*, on her passage to Xabenda from Ascension, captured a schooner of some eighty tons, with fifty-seven slaves on board, and, it was reported, another on her arrival at her station. The *Ferret* had taken a schooner (empty) of some 120 tons, which Lieutenant Fisher took to Sierra Leone and had condemned. Mr. M'Lune, the master's assistant of *Bittern*, while hoisting in provisions

from the *Snap* in the Bights, had been killed by a cask falling on him. The *Growler* had arrived at Sierra Leone, on the 11th of July, and had sailed with 480 liberated Africans for the West Indies; there were all sorts of reports at Sierra Leone, regarding the new move on the part of our Government. It was said that the French Admiral had protested against the proceeding, and that, in conjunction with the Americans, he was to capture the *Growler* as a slaver, &c.

PORTUGAL.—I believe our slave treaty with Portugal has cost us many sacrifices, though it is notorious that vessels are regularly built in many ports for that traffic. I have seen three at Oporto which had no other destination, but I scarcely expected to find a runaway slave advertised in a Portuguese paper, and a reward offered for his apprehension. That such things are done will best appear from the translation of an advertisement that appeared in an Oporto paper of the 27th ult. :—

"A good reward will be given to any person laying hold of a black slave, belonging to the crew of the Brazilian ship, *Ulvice*, now at anchor in the Douro, whence he may have been removed. He bears the following marks:—Regular height, large eyes, fourteen years of age, with some small spots on the sides of the face, and on the head. He is called Augustus, but he has probably changed his name."

I believe this advertisement has not escaped the eye of our vigilant Minister, and I have no doubt, due notice will be taken of it. The owners of slave-ships are well known in Portugal, and a vessel lost on the rocks near Oporto, was, as every one knew, the sister ship to a notorious fast-sailing slaver that fell a prize to one of our schooners some months since. A friend of mine lately asked a merchant how his brother was going on? "Very well indeed," was the reply; "He is doing wonders in the African trade to Brazil." "But don't you know, if he is caught by our cruisers, he may suffer for a felony?" "Oh, yes, we all understand the risk, but the profits pay more than that; if one adventure in six succeed, we make a heap of money."—*Times*, Oct. 15.

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.—The first number of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, has just appeared. It contains, amongst other valuable matter, an article on the present condition of the Indian Archipelago. After some introductory matter, the writer goes on to allude to the population of the Archipelago, which he conceives to be an extension of that of the continent—to the great diversity of tribes, languages, customs, and forms of government now existing, and how little they have been directly affected by the domination of European powers. The peculiarities of human life in these Islands is next referred to as respects its industrial, social, and personal condition. One section of the population, the denizens of the forest, live almost in a state of nature. The dwellings on the plains and banks of rivers bring us nearer to civilized life. They cultivate the land for a season—but are too indolent to return to it, the strength which they have taken away, they leave nature to restore to its primitive state, and during that period turn their attention to other pursuits. Much might be done for a race whose docility and aptitude for instruction is well ascertained.

The trade in piracy and slavery, so rife, is referred to as a great hindrance to social improvement. The systematic way in which these evils are carried on, render them the more difficult of suppression. No coast is so thickly peopled, and no harbour so well protected as to be secure from all molestation, for where open force would be useless, recourse is had to stealth and stratagem. Men have been kidnapped in broad day in the harbours of Penang and Singapore. Large fleets are sent out periodically to sweep the seas, and lurk along the shores of the Archipelago, despoiling the seafaring trader of the fruits of his industry, and his personal liberty, and carrying off, from their very homes, the wives and children of the villagers. Nothing but that same steady perseverance and employment of adequate resources which have so materially contributed towards freeing this country of thuggees and dacoity, can effect the suppression of this abominable traffic, and we hope the day is not far distant when the subject will be taken into more serious consideration, and means be employed to extirpate so grievous a stain against humanity, root and branch, from this quarter of the globe.—*Eastern (Calcutta) Star*.—Aug. 28.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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